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THE

BLENNERHASSETT PAPERS,

EMBODYING THE

PRIVATE JOURNAL OF HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT,

AND THE HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF

BURR, ALSTON, COMFORT TYLER, DEVEREAUX, DAYTON, ADAIR, MIRO, EMMETT, THEODOSIA BURR ALSTON, MRS. BLENNERHASSETT,

AND OTHERS, THEIR CONTEMPORARIES; DEVELOPING THE PURPOSES AND AIMS OF THOSE ENGAGED IN THE ATTEMPTED

WILKINSON AND BURR REVOLUTION;

EMBRACING ALSO THE FIRST ACCOUNT OF THE

"SPANISH ASSOCIATION OF KENTUCKY,"

AND A

MEMOIR OF BLENNERHASSETT,

BY WILLIAM H. SAFFORD.

CINCINNATI:
MOORE, WILSTACH & BALDWIN,
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TO MY FRIEND,

SENECA W. ELY, Esq.,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

TANGLEWOOD, November 19th.

PREFACE.

In the year 1850, the author published a small volume, entitled "The Life of Blennerhassett," which has passed through several editions. While collecting the material for it, he learned of the existence of the Blennerhassett manuscripts, and made an ineffectual effort to secure them. They were then in the custody of B.'s invalid son, in the city of New York, who could not be prevailed upon to submit them to the author's inspection. The latter was, consequently, compelled to send the work to the press, with such limited information as could be gathered from contemporaneous history and the personal reminiscences of friends. On the death of this son, in 1854, the papers passed into the possession of Joseph Lewis Blennerhassett, the youngest surviving child of the family, from whom they were obtained in the spring of 1859.

Upon an examination, the author was gratified to find that his former publication, although written upon such unsatisfactory data, so far as it professed to relate the life of Blennerhassett, was in every material particular correct. But the additional fund of interesting and important information which was disclosed—particularly with reference to this most romantic episode of American history—seemed to impose the necessity of an entire revision of his work. In the performance of this duty, so much new material has been added from the private memoranda, journals and correspondence of Blennerhassett, that he has thought it advisable to change its title. Hence he has adopted that of "The Blennerhassett Papers;" and so nu-

merous have been the changes, that it may now be regarded as a separate and independent publication.

In the selection and arrangement of the materials, he has endeavored, impartially, to place before the public every important fact connected with the subject. Having no object to conceal the faults or infirmities, nor inclination to apologize for the acts, of Blennerhassett, the author has been careful to suppress nothing to shield him from censure, nor has he invented excuses to extenuate his conduct. Wherever and whenever it has been necessary, for the interest of the work and the information of the reader, that the motives by which Blennerhassett was actuated should be disclosed, he has not hesitated to reveal them, even though it involved the invasion of private correspondence.

It is possible, nay, probable, that much is here presented which, could it have passed under the personal supervision of Mr. Blennerhassett, would have been materially modified, or entirely withheld; particularly after time had smoothed the asperities of personal rancor, and obliterated the memory of private wrongs. But this is certainly not the province of the impartial biographer, whose paramount aim is the verity of history, and not the unwarranted aggrandizement of individual character.

These remarks apply more appropriately to the observations on men and measures, contained in the journal and private correspondence of Blennerhassett. The scathing criticisms, and, in many instances, unmerited censure, with which its pages are replete, can only be extenuated by the smarting sense of personal injustice to which he deemed himself subjected. It is to be borne in mind, however, that none of his notes were ever intended for the public eye; that they were written exclusively for the entertainment of his wife and friends, at a time when party spirit ran high, and the jealous rivalries of leading politicians had discarded the amenities of social intercourse; when

Colonel Burr himself strove to give a partisan bias to the prosecution for treason, by charging Mr. Jefferson with political malevolence and private revenge. Under such considerations, we are prepared, at least, to excuse the warmth of his invectives, however much we may dissent from his conclusions. Time has demonstrated, that whatever personal inconvenience and sacrifice of private interest the arrest of the Burr Expedition occasioned the parties immediately involved; whatever motives may have influenced the action of the executive in the prosecution of its leader, it is certainly now clear, that it maintained the integrity of the Union, and re-established the confidence of the world in the power and perpetuity of the government.

The chapter devoted to the Spanish intrigues in Kentucky, seemed necessary to a proper understanding of the causes which induced, and the parties who influenced and projected, this noted undertaking. If the remarks upon the conduct of General Wilkinson should seem severe, the author can only say that they have been prompted through no feeling of personal enmity, but in justice, merely, to those who were the victims of his duplicity and bold breach of faith.

He has to regret the haste with which the necessities of the case have compelled him to prepare the work for the press. It has been completed in exactly one year from the time the papers were submitted to his inspection, and at such intervals of leisure, only, as he could appropriate from the duties of an arduous profession. He can not, therefore, flatter himself that it is free from occasional errors, or that it will successfully escape the criticism of cultivated and correct taste. But however numerous may be its faults, he can only hope that they may in some measure elude detection through the interest which the subject itself creates.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Lineage of Blennerhassett; Placed at Westminster to school; Graduates at Trinity College; The Irish Bar; Preferences, by the Irish gentry, for the legal profession; Studies at the King's Inns; Called to the degree of Barrister; Determines to travel; Sets out for the Continent; France; Witnesses the adoption of the new Constitution; Returns; Irish Revolutionists, John and Henry Sheares; Discontent of Ireland; Monopoly of England; English tyranny; Effect of American Revolution on Ireland; On Europe; Repeal of Statute Sixth of George First; Blennerhassett determines on removal; Starts for Kinsale; Proceeds to England; Miss Agnew; Marriage and Migration. 19

CHAPTER II.

Ships for New York; Letter to Lord Kinsale; Ohio and Mississippi Valleys; Sets out for the West; Arrives at Pittsburg; Takes passage for Marietta; Population of the village; Resolves to locate; Selecting a site for a residence; The Island; Moves to a blockhouse, and commences improvements; Simplicity not consulted in the construction of the mansion; Description; Domesticity. . . . 29

CHAPTER III.

Personal appearance of Blennerhassett; Anecdote of; Experiment; Proficiency in music; simplicity of character; Anecdote of; Afraid of earthquakes and thunder-storms; Mrs. Blennerhassett. 50

CHAPTER IV

Character of the early settlers of Western Virginia; Variety; Social distinctions abolished; Amusements; Feats of strength; Chivalry; Patriotism; Washington's compliment; Early settlers of Belpré; New England origin; Puritanical practices; Bravery; Patriotism; Education; Comparison of the two types of character. 56

CHAPTER V.

Difficulties attending the early colonization of the Mississippi Valley; Navigation of the river cause of discontent; Tardiness of Congress in asserting the rights of the people; Murmurings of discontent; Want of unanimity of the people on the subject of redress of grievances; Disunion advocated; Intrigues of the Spanish Crown; General James Wilkinson; Endeavors to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi; Arrested by order of the Governor of Louisiana; Released; Entertainment; Permission to trade; Suspicious intimacy; Gardoqui and Miro without concert of plan; Gardoqui appoints Pierre d'Argès to execute scheme; D'Argès' movements; Plans of Spanish agents threaten collision; Dispatch of Miro to Valdès; Wilkinson sails from New Orleans to Philadelphia; Proceeds to Richmond; Addresses a letter to Gardoqui; Colonel George Morgan; Efforts at Colonization; Wilkinson returns across the mountains; His splendid equipage creates suspicion; Enters into large contracts for tobacco; Communicates with Miro by special messengers; Advises him of the disaffection of the Kentucky people, and the probable success of their plans; Wilkinson suspicioned by Miro as working for pecuniary advancement; Dispatch of Miro; Major Dunn sent by Wilkinson as supercargo; Is introduced by letter to Miro; Wilkinson communicates further intelligence of the disposition of the Kentuckians; Major Dunn corroborates his statements; Dispatch from McGillivray, the half-breed chief; Miro elated; Wilkinson still ignorant of Gardoqui's plans; Diplomacy; Wilkinson on a wrong scent; Wilkinson sowing the seeds of dissension in Kentucky; Constant agitations; Wilkinson's success animates others; A new cause of excitement; The new Constitution of the United States; Convention of Virginia called to meet at Richmond; A District Convention called to meet at Danville to frame a Constitution for the new State; Wilkinson chosen as a member; Sudden termination of its deliberations; Letter on the subject from Wilkinson to Miro; South-Western feeling; Wilkinson still suspected; General Morgan's movements; Wilkinson's distrust of Morgan; Sordid desires; British intrigue; Connally deputed by Dorchester; Visits Kentucky; Propositions; Interview with Wilkinson; Counterplotting; Spain consents to the navigation of the Mississippi on terms; Effect of the measure; Wilkinson discouraged; Apprehensions for his own safety excited; Desires to become a Spanish subject; Is dissuaded by Miro; Miro's hopes dampened; Proposes to pension Wilkinson to guard the interest of Spain, and Sebastian to guard Wilkinson; Kentucky admitted; Wilkinson commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel; Reason therefor; Discontent still prevailing; Genet's intrigue; Jacobin Clubs; Address of the Society at Philadel-

phia; General George Rogers Clark commissioned a Major-General in thé French Revolutionary Legions; Washington embarrassed; Demands the recall of Genet; General Wayne ordered to repair to Massac; Tranquillity, for a time, restored. 68

CHAPTER VI.

Clouds gathering; Burr visits the West; Object; Visits the Island; Interview with Wilkinson; Blennerhassett on a visit to Emmett; Duped by Harte; Letter to James Brown, Esq.; Despondent; Proposes to change his residence; Letter to Devereux; Burr's first communication to Blennerhassett; Answer to Burr; Burr to Blennerhassett; Burr's third letter; Burr's fourth and fifth letters; Arrival at the Island; Interview; Projects; Wirt's description; Burr continues recruiting; Tempting inducements held out. 105

CHAPTER VII.

Preparations; Burr visits Chillicothe, Cincinnati, Kentucky; Terms of enlistment; "Querist;" Lexington, Kentucky; Mrs. Alston joined by her husband at the Island, in company with Blennerhassett; visit Lexington; Reception; Ruse; Col. Alston; Letter of Blennerhassett to Jos. S. Lewis & Co.; Apprehensions of the public mind; Retrospect; Rumors of the Expedition; Graham appointed a secret agent to investigate its object; Instructions to Wilkinson; Marches toward Natchitoches; Orders the fortification of New Orleans; Refused forces by the Executive of Mississippi Territory; Sends Burling to Mexico to apprise the Viceroy; Meeting at New Orleans; Preparations for resistance; Mutiny in Wood county, Va.; Mrs. Blennerhassett alarmed; Dispatches a messenger to Blennerhassett; He returns from Lexington; Dr. Bennett; Letter to Colonel Phelps; Reply; Interview; Letter from Devereux; Burr's arrest in Kentucky; Advises Blennerhassett; Discharge; Graham visits Marietta; Interview with Blennerhassett; Visits the Governor of Ohio at Chillicothe; Act of the Ohio Legislature; Militia of the State called out; Anecdotes; Comfort Tyler; Tyler to Blennerhassett; Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer; Interview; Reflections; Arrival of Tyler at the Island; Blennerhassett disheartened; Persuaded by his wife to proceed; Boats guarded by the militia; Young recruits attempt a rescue. 131

CHAPTER VIII.

Burr dispatches communication in cipher to Wilkinson; Revelations; Evidences of Wilkinson's complicity; Wilkinson's treachery; Communicates with the President; Proclamation of the President;

Blennerhassett alarmed; Preparations; Mrs. Blennerhassett; Escape of the Expedition from the Island; Col. Phelps with his forces; Ineffectual attempt to arrest Blennerhassett at Point Pleasant; Instructions sent to Tennessee; Graham leaves Frankfort for Nashville; The movements of Burr; Kentucky militia ordered out; Burr's flotilla; Burr leaves the Cumberland; Lands at Fort Massac; Is visited by the Commander, Captain Bissel; Supplies Burr with a messenger to convey a letter to the Lead Mines in Missouri; His wife presents Burr with provisions; Burr and his party proceed to Chickasaw Bluffs; Has an interview with the Commander, Lieutenant Jacob Jackson; Fails in his designs; Communication of the President to Wilkinson; Burr supplies himself with lead, tomahawks, etc., and proceeds to Palmyra, and thence to Bayou Pierre; Blennerhassett's Journal of the voyage down the river. 167

CHAPTER IX.

Morgan Neville, and William Robinson, Junior; Embark from Pittsburg in a flatboat; Espied by the Wood county militia, and arrested; Escorted to the Island to await the return of Colonel Phelps; Difficulties with the militia; Trial of the young men; Conduct of the militia on the Island; Mrs. Blennerhassett's return from Marietta; Her fortitude on the occasion; Embarrassed situation; Accepts the offer of the young men to convey her to her husband; Colonel Phelps's return to the Island; Young men embarrassed at the announcement of his arrival; Character and description of Colonel Phelps; Rebukes the militia for their riotous conduct; His politeness to the young men; Proffers his services in accelerating Mrs. Blennerhassett's arrangement to go to her husband; Apologizes for the misbehavior of his men; Mrs. Blennerhassett prepares to depart; Leaves the Island in company with the young men; Passes the mouth of the Cumberland; Disappointed in not finding her husband; Arrives at Bayou Pierre, and is restored to Blennerhassett; Painful situation of Burr and Blennerhassett; Burr sinks the arms for the Expedition, in the Mississippi. 198

CHAPTER X.

Proclamation of Cowles Mead in Mississippi; Burr visited at his boats by George Poindexter, Attorney-General; Letter from Cowles Mead; Surrender; Examination before Rodney; Jury called; Refuse to find a Bill of Indictment; Censure the arrest; Burr resolves to escape; Letter to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Makes flight; Burr's forces arrested; Other seizures at New Orleans; *Habeas corpus* granted by Workman; Wilkinson refuses to surrender his prisoners; Workman resigns;

Burling returns from Mexico Wilkinson and Admiral Drake; Trial and discharge of Bollman, Swartwout, Ogden and Alexander; Letter of Blennerhassett to Graham; Blennerhassett arrested, and released on bail. 199

CHAPTER XI.

Burr's arrival in the village of Wakefield, Alabama; Inquires for Colonel Hinson's; His conduct excites suspicion; He is pursued by Nicholas Perkins and Brightwell, the Sheriff; Is found at Hinson's; His agreeableness; Suspicions of the Sheriff; Mrs. Hinson's inquisitiveness; His departure from Hinson's; Delinquency of Brightwell; Perkins sets out for Fort Stoddard, to procure assistance of Lieutenant Edmund P. Gaines; They start in pursuit; Burr is arrested; His imprisonment at the Fort; Kindness to George S. Gaines; Amusements at the Fort; Burr's traveling companion, Major Ashley, arrested, and escapes; Difficulties in procuring a guard to convey Burr to Richmond; Burr leaves the Fort under guard; Sympathy of the ladies; Guard; Perkins fears the influence of Burr; Particulars of the journey; Burr attempts to escape at Chester; Is unsuccessful; Arrives at Richmond, Virginia; Letter of Alston to Governor Pinkney, of South Carolina. 214

CHAPTER XII.

Blennerhassett leaves Natchez for the Island; Letter of Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Same to same; Travel's history; Letter from Mrs. Blennerhassett to Mr. Blennerhassett; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Another; Letter from D. Woodbridge to Blennerhassett; From Mrs. to Mr. Blennerhassett; Burr to Blennerhassett; Alston to Blennerhassett; From Mrs. Theodosia Burr Alston; From Burr to Blennerhassett; Arrest of Blennerhassett at Lexington; Advises Mrs. Blennerhassett by letter; Narrative of the events by himself; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Account of the arrest from the "Western World;" Letter from Henry Clay; Letter from Mrs. Blennerhassett; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett, from the Penitentiary; Account of the journey and incidents at Richmond; Burr to Blennerhassett; Same to same; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Burr to Blennerhassett; Mrs. Blennerhassett to Mr. Blennerhassett; Same to same; Burr to Blennerhassett; Same to same; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Same to same; Devereux to Blennerhassett; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Trial of Burr commenced; Counsel engaged; Verdict of acquittal; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett. 231

CHAPTER XIII.

Blennerhassett's Private Journal. 803

CHAPTER XIV.

Letter from Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Same to same; Letter from Luther Martin to Blennerhassett; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Blennerhassett to Colonel Burr; Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Same to same; Same to same; Returns to Natchez; Pecuniary distress; Purchases a cotton plantation; Finds a home; Mrs. Blennerhassett's management; Devereux to Blennerhassett; A small remittance; Joseph S. Lewis to Blennerhassett; Thomas Addis Emmett to Blennerhassett; Joseph S. Lewis to same; From the same; From the same; Blennerhassett to Governor Alston; Effect of the embargo; Island Mansion destroyed by fire; Letter from Joseph S. Lewis; From the same; From the same; From the same; From the house of Joseph S. Lewis & Co.; From Joseph S. Lewis; From the same; From Joseph S. Lewis & Co.; Burr in Europe; Suspected in England; Visits Edinburg; Returns to London, and is imprisoned; Set at large, and ordered to quit the kingdom; His subsequent movements; Returns to New York; Letter from to Blennerhassett; Blennerhassett to Burr; Letter from Mr. Emmett. 508

CHAPTER XV.

Origin of the Burr Expedition; History of events preceding; Gayoso's intrigues; Power dispatched to Wilkinson; Plan for dismembering Kentucky; Wilkinson's complicity; Power's second mission; Instructions; Wilkinson's reply; Spanish-American settlers; United States tardy in taking possession of Spanish forts under the treaty of 1783; Spain is jealous of her American possessions; Memoir of the First Consul of France; Advises that Wilkinson be enlisted in the service of France; Wilkinson the author of the Burr Expedition; Burr's project not a new one; Miranda's Expedition; Extent of Burr's intrigues; Misrepresentations; Wilkinson's complicity and treachery; Jefferson accused. 554

CHAPTER XVI.

Blennerhassett unsuccessful; Disposes of his Mississippi estate, and removes to New York; Removes to Canada in hopes of obtaining a Judgeship; Unsuccessful; "The Deserted Isle;" Sails for Ireland; Disappointed in recovering estates; Letter from Mrs. Blennerhassett; Distress of Mrs. Blennerhassett; Letter to Blennerhassett;

Colonel Archibald Henderson to Mrs. Blennerhassett; Same to the same; Blennerhassett seeks office in England; Letter to the Marquis of Anglesey; Letter from Mrs. Blennerhassett; Letter to Nev. de Courcy; To Lord Courtney; From Mrs. Blennerhassett; From the same; To General Devereux; To J. Kingdom; To Devereux; To the Marquis of Wellesley; His history; Marries Mrs. Patterson, of Baltimore, formerly Miss Eaton; The Tabinet Ball; Reverses of fortune; Letter from the poet Campbell; Blennerhassett returns to Canada, to remove permanently to England; Mrs. Blennerhassett's health declining; Letter to Lord Anglesey; Answer; To Harman Blennerhassett; Premonition of death; Removes to Guernsey; Death; Reflections; Mrs. Blennerhassett visits the United States; Presents her memorial to Congress; Claim reported favorably upon; Death of Mrs. Blennerhassett. 582

APPENDIX.

I. Secret Correspondence. 657

II. The Battle of Muskingum, or Defeat of the Burrites. . . 661

INTRODUCTION.

More than fifty years since, the inhabitants of the West were gratified by the intelligence that an individual of rank and fortune had renounced allegiance to his father-land, to take up his abode among them. In those primitive days, every addition to the little band of early pioneers was deemed of some importance; but the accession of one whose manners and customs differed so widely from their own, who could build and adorn a palace in the western wilds, was considered an event of wonderful magnitude.

With satisfaction they beheld the first germs of civilization springing from beneath the plastic hand of taste, and bursting into full maturity through the genial influence of wealth. This western Eden, while it captivated their eyes with its beauty, amazed their minds with the resources of its possessor. They witnessed the accomplishment of his ends in the subjugation of nature to his will; saw "the desert bloom and blossom as the rose;" stood as anxious spectators when the whirlwind of popular prejudice prostrated the hopes of his household; and wept for the desolation which succeeded.

Since the celebrated expedition of Aaron Burr, the earlier fortunes of Blennerhassett have been the subject of singular curiosity. Many have been the surmises as to the causes which led this scion of Euro-

pean aristocracy to renounce the hereditary honors consequent upon family, for the secluded life of an unpretending republican. Some attribute it to an early alliance with a lady whose fortune and rank were unequal to those of his own; others, to a want of success as a member of the Irish bar; while the uncharitable are anxious to throw around the subject conjectures of the darkest character.

The mystery which surrounds him and his "island home" has served, for more than fifty years, to entertain the passing traveler, as he glides by the spot where once stood the American Alhambra. The marvelous stories of Spain, of Moslem enchantment and Moorish gold, are scarcely less credible than the tales at such times repeated to the attentive ear of the listener.

Memory reverts with fond delight to the earlier days of our youthful pastimes, when, strolling through the embowered coppices of the isle, or seated beneath the vine-clad cotton tree, the stern realities of life were forgotten, in the tragic narratives of by-gone years. Around the name of Blennerhassett, and every thing connected with it, was waved the enchanting wand of romance; and tales of beauty, of splendor, and of crime, while they fascinated us with their witchery, startled us with his deep and dark designs.

Who Blennerhassett truly was, and what his origin and destiny, it is our object to disclose;—to strip the subject of that mysteriousness which ignorance, wilful prejudice, or a love of the marvelous has thrown around it, and reveal to the inquiring reader the acts and character of the man.

THE

BLENNERHASSETT PAPERS.

CHAPTER I.

Little of incident is anywhere related of the early life of Blennerhassett. He was the youngest son of a distinguished family, which could trace its lineage from the time of King John. His grandfather, Robert, having emigrated from Cumberland in the reign of Elizabeth, became the head of three highly respectable branches of Irish gentry.

The first son was the proprietor of Ballyseedy; the second of Conway Castle, Killorglin, both in the county of Kerry; and the third established himself at Riddlestown, in the county of Limerick.

The subject of this memoir was of the Castle Conway, or Killorglin line. He was born in Hampshire, on the 8th of October, in the year 1764 or 1765, while his parents were on a temporary visit to England. A younger son, and by the laws of primogeniture, destined to a profession, he was placed by his father at an early age, in the celebrated school of Westminster. He was afterward

entered at Trinity College, Dublin, where it is said he graduated with honor to himself and credit to his professors.

At that time the Irish bar—a body formidable to the then existing government—comprised many sons of the noblemen and commoners of Ireland. The legal science was not then a mere *trade*, but a *profession*, requiring both learning and time to master its abstruse truths.

Eloquence was looked upon as a qualification for the Senate, and almost every peer and commoner had a relative among its members.

This inordinate preference for the legal profession is said to have arisen from numerous causes. Chief among these was the ambition of their gentry, and their family pride. The first anxiety of a parent was to secure for his son a calling befitting, in every particular, the dignity of the ancient name. In this respect the bar has at all times proved the highway to fortune and political preferment. But the consideration of wealth, or, perhaps, a seat in the Privy Council, were not the only inducements to such a selection. Although they were not to be regarded with indifference, yet there has also been an adventitious dignity conferred upon the profession, by the political circumstances of the country, and the individual influence of many of its illustrious names. Until 1792, no Catholic could be admitted to the privileges of a barrister, and the dignities of the profession were confined to a favored few. The highest families were anxious to secure positions, which stamped an aristocratic character upon the importance of the calling; and to be a counsellor in those days was to be no ordi-

nary personage; the title was an indisputable passport to aristocratic society and intellectual association.

Blennerhassett having, therefore, selected the law as the surest road to preferment and wealth, was placed at the King's Inns, as an entered apprentice; and at Michaelmas term, 1790, at the age of twenty-five, was generally admitted into the "Honorable Society," and called to the degree of Barrister therein.

Having now successfully accomplished a severe course of study in which, in a few years, he had passed through the first literary, scientific and legal institutions of Great Britain; and, by the death of his eldest brother, having but recently succeeded to the family estates, rendering exertion in his profession unnecessary as a means of subsistence, he determined before entering upon its duties, to indulge himself for a time in the recreation of foreign travel.

Accordingly, in company with one of his companions, he set out for a tour upon the continent. France, both then as now, was the center of interest for all the world. For the philosopher, statesman, or man of pleasure, she has long possessed, and still presents, superior attractions over any of her sister Kingdoms. At the period of Blennerhassett's visit, she had been rocked by the whirlwind of revolution; and the established despotism of her military monarchs had been crumbled into atoms. The massive structure of the Bastile, every stone of which echoed the groans of four centuries of oppression, had been torn from its summit to its foundation, by the infuriated advocates of popular freedom. On the anniversary of its destruction, Louis Sixteenth, with thirty

thousand delegates from the confederated National Guards of the kingdom, in the presence of five hundred thousand of their countrymen, had taken the oath of fidelity to the nation, to the Constitution, and, all save the monarch himself, to the king. But France was still trembling from the convulsions of her people. Her recuperative energies were starting afresh, on a new system of government, which lacked all the great elements of success. To one who had been familiar with the daily complainings of an oppressed nation, who, although himself but upon the verge of manhood, had already been strongly suspected of a secret league with the revolutionary spirits of Ireland, thoroughly read in the political writings of Voltaire, and a disciple of Rosseau, a more interesting and opportune period could not have presented itself.

He was still an unwilling witness to the murmurs of the people. Confidence in the permanency of the government had not been secured by the affections of its subjects, and society had received a shock from which it had seemed impossible to recover.

Having remained long enough to witness the adoption of this new measure, Blennerhassett returned to his own country, in time to escape the storm, which prostrated the hopes of its friends, and destroyed the life of the unfortunate Louis. There were quite a number of the young men of Ireland in France at the time of the emeute. Many of them entered into the spirit of the Revolution with great zest, and endeavored to enlist the sympathies of the insurgents in their cause against the oppression of England.

Among the more noted of these for their subsequent misfortunes, were John and Henry Sheares. They were natives of Cork, well educated, both lawyers, and of respectable parentage. They were present at the taking of the Bastile, and John was seen, on his return to Ireland, to flourish with exultation a handkerchief stained with the blood of Louis XVI. They subsequently became involved in the outbreak in 1798, for which they were prosecuted for treason. Although they were ably defended by Curran, they were, nevertheless, convicted, and suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Much dissatisfaction was afterwards expressed on account of the character of the evidence upon which they were found guilty. There was but one witness, and he a government decoy, who had himself counseled more treason than either had ever conceived.

But the same spirit of discontent which prevailed in France had extended to Ireland. For centuries had she groaned under the oppression of England. Her submission to the sceptres of Henry and of Richard had been construed into the *right* of *conquest;* and they sought to crush the native spirit of her people, by fomenting discord and exercising tyranny. Ireland had been blessed with a genial soil. Nature had lavished her brightest gifts upon her. The native character of her population was not inferior to that of other nations. But of what avail were fertile fields, or gigantic intellects, when national disorganization and political faction perverted the gifts of Providence to selfish purposes, or destroyed their

usefulness in the general wreck of distracted governments and divided subjects? Her manufacturing interest and commercial enterprise struggled long against the monopoly of England; but the superior power of her ruler enabled her to check their prosperity, by the heavy hand of arbitrary restraint. A deplorable want of union of sentiment, and firmness of purpose, at all times prevented a successful separation from her powerful oppressor; and every attempt to claim her independence proved vain and abortive.

England, fearful of her growing strength, sought to subdue her spirit, by onerous exactions, and denying her the privilege of a free legislature. Not only against Ireland had she exercised her arbitrary will, but also against the colonies of her planting in North America. Vain in the conceit of her imperial power, she dared to exact obedience from peoples separated by the wide Atlantic, and command the same submission with which the oppressed subjects of Ireland had yielded. While her experimental philosophy had taught her that to retain her authority she must exercise tyranny, she had not reflected that there was a point in the system of her oppression, where submission ceased to be a virtue.

The spirit of independence was hovering over the bloody altar of the American Revolution, when Ireland again awoke to a sense of her own condition. She gazed with animated delight at the increasing success of American arms. Every new victory found a sympathetic influence, responding with joy, in the recesses of her own bosom. The feeble colonies of America, spread over a vast extent of territory, with but few facilities for con-

ducting a war, with a hostile Indian enemy in their rear, and the boasted chivalry of England at their front; undismayed by difficulty or the fear of defeat, after seven years of war, were finally victorious. The arrogance of England bowed its proud head to the shrine of liberty; and Lord Cornwallis, her favorite general, led back the relics of her conquered army, to commemorate, in the mother country, the impotence of her power and the emancipation of her colonies.

Before they had well considered the reason of their solicitude, the same spirit of independence had animated the Irish bosom; and, in every corner of her territory, the fire of liberty burst forth, in a blaze that threatened equal destruction to British usurpation and kingly government. The nation became aroused. English influence and English interests secured partizans in church and state; and opposing factions, from their intolerance and party animosity, had already commenced the Irish revolution.

The success of the cause of liberty in the American colonies affected, most sensibly, the whole of Europe. It appeared, indeed, as though the fiat had gone forth, that monarchies and despotisms were for ever to cease from among men. "Strange and unforeseen events were crowding the annals of the world; the established axioms of general polity began to lose their weight among nations; and governments, widely wandering from the fundamental principles of their own constitutions, appeared carelessly traveling the road to ruin."

Such was the State of Europe; presenting an aspect

not unlike that upon which we, of later days, have gazed (and to which we still look, with feelings of solicitude and hope), when Blennerhassett left the unhappy shores of France for those, not less discontented, of his native country.

Ireland, it is true, from the helpless situation of England, at a time when her foreign wars and hapless defeats had exhausted the resources of that powerful nation, had successfully demanded the repeal of statute sixth of George First, entitled "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain;" but her situation was not less distracted than before.

Although it was difficult to keep aloof from the entangling snares of party strife, Blennerhassett chose rather to pursue the more flowery paths of literature than the sterner and more rugged way of political preferment. To a mind which sought within itself for sources of enjoyment, the bustle and hurricane which reigned around served to distract his meditations, and interrupt the pleasure which, in seclusion, he had hoped to find.

Being the possessor of an estate, with considerable additional fortune inherited at the death of his father, he determined no longer to remain in Ireland, subjected to the inconvenience and danger which usually attend the feuds of faction; but, in some more remote and peaceful region, where the infuriated mob and the clamor of war were never heard, he hoped to spend a life of repose.

He accordingly disposed of his lands to his relative,

Mr. Mullins, afterward Baron Vintry, and made immediate preparation for departing. Having closed his business he started for Kinsale, a seaport in the county of Cork, where his sister, the consort of Lord Kinsale (Baron de Courcey), at that time resided.

His estates had yielded him an ample fortune of one hundred thousand dollars. From Kinsale he proceeded to England, to complete his arrangements for transmitting it to America, and supplying himself with his necessary outfits.

While here he frequently met with, and finally became affianced to, a Miss Agnew, daughter of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man, and grand-daughter of the celebrated General of that name, who fell at the battle of Germantown. She was young, intelligent, and beautiful. Possessed of an uncommon degree of energy, coupled with a temperament of romantic ardor, she listened, with captivated delight, to the fairy stories he repeated of the far-off land in the Western world. She did not, therefore, hesitate to consummate the nuptials, and link her destinies with his in that rural paradise which his imagination had so vividly depicted.

Upon the precarious sea of life, almost without compass or chart, Blennerhassett had now launched his adventurous barque. The sudden truth flashed across his mind, that he, too, was an adventurer; not, however, for the gold of Peru, for discoveries in the material world, or the subjugation of a foreign power. Gold and honor were already his; but these, compared to the revelation of truth in the great volume of nature, to the inquiring mind, which sought to unfold her hidden

mysteries, were but as "sounding brass and tinkling cymbal."

To him, that sea appeared serene and safe, with no adverse winds to interrupt his onward course; while, in the dim distance of imagination, he descried that shore of sweet repose, where the deceit and treachery of man should never disturb the quietude of a mind at peace.

CHAPTER II.

HAVING supplied himself, in London, with an extensive library and a philosophical apparatus, together with other materials deemed necessary for future use, Blennerhassett shipped for New York in 1796, where he remained for several months, to study the topography of the country and the character of its inhabitants.

An account of the voyage, and description of the country, are entertainingly given in the following letter, addressed to his nephew, the Hon. Thomas de Courcey, afterward Lord Kinsale:

NEW UTRECHT, LONG ISLAND,
August 18*th*, 1796.

MY DEAR TOM:—Although I feel that your anxiety and my own wishes equally urge the dispatch of this letter, yet that its *end* should not be altogether unattained, I have not only deferred beginning it since my landing on the 1st instant, but shall probably conclude with a date considerably distant from that with which I have commenced; for I shall sooner depend upon your relying on the chances in favor of the safe issue of my voyage, than merely send you an account of it such a distance as divides every thing but our hearts, unaccompanied with some account of things as they shall strike me in this country from time to time, which, as they

will necessarily affect my interests, will, I know, on that account, be more than entertaining to you. As to our passage, as nothing very material happened in the course of it, I shall only tell you that we made it very tediously, that is, in seventy-three days from our sailing from Gravesend, till we landed at New York. During our vicissitudes of calms and adverse winds, which, instead of the direct distance, compelled us to submit to a traverse sailing of, I suppose, not less than ten thousand miles, I was relieved from any sense whatever of confinement by the variety and awfulness of nature in the Western Ocean, and particularly in what is called the Florida Gulf Stream, together with the almost daily occupation of examining, and finally, when we made the land, correcting the dead reckoning of the ship by means of two excellent instruments, with which, among others, I provided myself in London; the one a Hadley's sextant, the other a chronometer watch, made by the maker to the British Board of Longitude.

On first setting my foot on American soil, I was visited with sensations which I certainly never experienced in the old country. With any particular description of these I shall not trouble you, but while they excited severe regrets, as I cast my eyes back on the sea that interposed so wide a space between me and the many dear ties I left behind, they soon after inspired more selfish reflections to cheer me with the contemplation of so grand a barrier between me and the malevolence of my enemies, while it seemed, at the same time, the only limit of my natural and political independence. But these prospects, I must admit, merely dawn at present;

and my expectations will not ripen under their meridian heat till I shall have acquired a landed property equal to that with which I have parted.

The climate, as well as the voyage, which Maggie has borne well, has received us kindly, and still continues to treat us with benignity. The situation of New York, with which I know Morse has acquainted you, save in the lower parts of the town, where, from its rapid increase in trade, and I may say, the almost insular situation of the city, the inhabitants have, for some time, been making new ground for docks, and building lots, with bad and filthy stuff; its situation, I say, is provided with almost every requisite to check, if not destroy, the tendency of the climate (which in spring and summer is damp, and suddenly and violently variable), to produce the intermittent very general here, and known by the name of the fever and ague, which, to all appearance, is the same complaint with the ague in Europe. But the severe heat generally prevalent in the months of July and August, raising the thermometer some days to 96°; by its pernicious influence on the docks, and new low grounds, renders it advisable for foreigners to retire to the country. Principally upon this account, added to a severe handling from the musketoes, which, during our stay in town, used to come over from the Jersey shore, opposite to which we lodged upon the Hudson, I removed to this place last Saturday, where we have joined a tolerably pleasant party, chiefly of subscribers, who have built a handsome house, with a large room and balcony in front, of near seventy feet in length, and other apartments, containing about thirty good bed-rooms. The

situation is pleasant and cool upon the shore, compared with the town, from which it is distant about twelve miles. Here we shall remain till the latter end of the month, when the heat will moderate, and I shall pass through Jersey on my way to Philadelphia. In the meantime, I shall further explore this Island, having as yet, from the heat of the weather, done almost nothing in that way. But in two or three rides I have witnessed the general poverty of the soil which, though extremely shallow and sandy, exhibits a beautiful diversity of cultivated country, in the appearance of large and well fenced fields of cucumbers, musk and water-melons, with plenty of apple and peach orchards. The peaches, though no more attended to than your wildings in Kerry, have as good a flavor as the best ever produced at Reen. Judge then what a *garden* I look to in a better soil and climate. Grapes are universal, but seem totally neglected except for pies, though I am persuaded they might even here be brought to perfection. Indian corn is so much the staple of consumption on this island, that it alone is called corn, every other species of grain being distinguished by its proper name. The farmers, nine out of ten Dutch, or their descendants, are not only comfortable but rich. And though the state of agriculture among them is ridiculed by the Anglo-Americans for its backwardness, there is not an acre of land between this place and New York (from the easy vent which the latter offers for the above-mentioned produce, with garden stuff, and perhaps a few other articles), that does not annually bring in from £25 to £30 of this currency, the dollar being eight shillings here. Hence

I need scarcely tell you that land is extremely dear. I have it from good authority, that, in the back parts of the State, capital has been, within these five years past, uniformly doubled every two years by the purchase and re-sale of small lots of military lands.

You remember the advantages this State possesses in being the best watered in the Union, both by nature and art, and, accordingly, all its waste lands are settling with surprising rapidity, chiefly from New England. These accounts, nevertheless, shall not, at present, seduce me into any purchases here, because the British funds have fallen considerably since I purchased into them, and there is now less than a twelvemonth to run of the present Presidency.

It seems to be the general opinion of the few informed acquaintances I have yet been able to make (most of the persons to whom I am here addressed having retreated for the summer in different directions, into the country), that Washington will not stand as candidate again, and that there will be a severe contest between the North and the South; the former straining every nerve to elect Adams, the latter making equal exertions in behalf of Jefferson. The expected struggle is regarded by both sides with eager anxiety, while maneuvering is practiced by both parties to the degree even of multiplying the States. To explain this:—You will probably have seen, by the papers, that a sixteenth State, viz., that part of the territory South-West of the Ohio, called the Tennessee country, has, in the last session of Congress, been admitted, by virtue of the amount of its population, into the Union. Now it is insinuated in the Northern

and Middle States, where Adams is the favorite, and by whose preponderancy he would probably succeed, that the admission of Tennessee was obtained through a false census. However, this objection, whether true or not, now comes *too late.* The business is done. But, in order to effect a counterpoise, the District of Maine is to be separated from Massachusetts. So when you see this event also in the papers, you will know how to construe the real motives for erecting the district of Maine into a separate State, out of the ostensible reasons set forth for the measure.

In the midst of these transactions I have had an opportunity of witnessing the attachment of both parties to the real interests of the country, though they reciprocally launch the imputations of aristocracy and democracy against each other; and the candor on the one side in allowing the superiority of Jefferson's talents, is equalled by the honesty on the other in admitting that Adams has done more for America than his opponent. Still, the administration of the new President, if not his election, will, in my opinion, as seems granted indeed, operate as a test of the constitution, to confound or confirm the idea in Europe, that Mr. Washington is, alone, in America, the preserving cement of order and good government; and, at all events, the period will operate a crisis which I shall in prudence abide, before I settle the whole of my property on this side of the Atlantic.

Upon this account, alone, I have said so much upon general politics; from which, however, you must not infer that I do not see more than equal security of pri-

vate property with any that can be boasted in Europe, where the many have nothing to lose, compared with the proprietary interest; but, in this country, there is *no peasantry.*

In the meantime speculations of every possible sort are driven forward daily, I think, so far, unhappily, as they induce a species of gambling; for one-half must ever lose, at every sort of play, while the advantages of regular trade, being reciprocal, all parties are benefited. These speculations are commercial, properly so called—and landed. I shall give you an example or two of each. No adventures in the former line have been more weighty or enterprising than in the article of flour. This I call a speculation, because flour is no natural subject of trade between America and Europe, since the latter can always raise enough for consumption; but ideas of its partial scarcity in England and France, during the war, have so engaged the merchant and farmer, that both have for the most part been ruined within these last eight months, the former on his disastrous returns at a full third below first cost, having only to condole with the latter still keeping his granaries shut up, for he has now *no* market but the home; the article having there too fallen near six dollars in the barrel. Hence you will not be surprised to learn the extravagant prices of the necessaries of life, and the high rates of wages, which have not yet come down in proportion to the wholesale fall. Men-servants still have twelve dollars a month. Masons, at New York and Philadelphia, from sixteen to twenty shillings a day; carpenters, a shilling less, and both, in country situations, according to

the distance from these cities, may be had from one to five or six shillings less. House-rent, also, still keeps up enormously; a two-roomed house, according to its situation, fetching from £150 to £250 in these towns, of New York currency. To estimate the rate of other necessaries, I shall send you a price current, which you must understand by adding about a third to every article for each hand through which it passes before it reaches the consumer. While the above speculations in grain and flour have been going forward, latterly, with such ill success, others have distinguished this country. Of these the East India trade is the most considerable; commenced under every disadvantage to be apprehended from the great capitals, and old companies of Europe. Yet, has it grown to a size that now begins to alarm men's minds, for the great draught of specie it drains from America, and a conviction of the inferiority, notwithstanding the cheapness of the India returns, except sugar and nankeens, compared with the linen articles of wear, which were more in use before from Europe. But adventure has not stopped here. Some time last summer, a Yankee, at a little town in the State of Massachusetts, learning the times were mortally sickly at Port au Prince, conceived a scheme of sending there a cargo of—*coffins*. Those commodities were made up in nests of sizes, from the largest to those for infants; and, that no room should be lost, the inner coffin of the nest was packed with cakes of—gingerbread. I have only to add, that the speculation turned out a capital hit,—our Yankee having actually returned full freighted with the best West India produce, in return for his timber.

Now for the land hits. These are going on every day, not only in England, but even in America, on principles no better than horse-jockeying. In this play, also, many fortunes are made and lost, the adventurers purchasing on credit, and a presumption of re-selling within a certain time their former acquisitions, at an advance equivalent to enable them to make good their former engagements. But they have found their calculations to exceed dreadfully the capital settling this country from Europe, and now the paper of a Mr. Morris, of Philadelphia, who, in the last war, had more credit than the Union altogether, is selling at 4s. 6d. in the pound, though he still continues proceeding with a house that can not cost less than £200,000. There is not one cipher too many. Hence, you'll perceive, there is yet no bankruptcy system established. Congress yet fear to cramp industry and enterprise in the young country for which they legislate, or to open a door to commercial fraud by any attempt of that sort, which, in the present state of the community, they wisely imagine would prove upon trial too lax or too rigid. And for my part, from the little I have yet seen, I can not but approve of their wisdom in leaving the creditor in a situation to see his debtor's knees begin to tremble, rather than run the risk of bringing both to the ground together.

You must perceive then from what has been said, that there must be an infinity of land of every quality and situation in the market, and yet Congress have advertised some townships to be sold at auction next January, which, upon full deliberation, they have resolved shall not be put up at less than two dollars an acre. There is

however, an increase of wealth annually flowing into the country, unequaled in the annals of any other, from emigrations. These I can not now exactly estimate, but their effects are visible, in the increase of settlements in every direction, from the Atlantic to the Ohio and Mississippi. Witness the population of Kentucky (now considered almost an old country), swollen to 73,677, and even of Tennessee, to 77,262. In this track I am now preparing to set forward, but can not say how long I shall be anywhere stationary for a month before the next fall, at which time, after having explored Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Miami country, concerning all of which you shall hear the particulars in due time. I shall return through the wilderness by Virginia, if a settlement does not arrest me in the way. But I must postpone for the present any further particulars of my route to the West, on account of the remaining remarks I have to make on those parts of the country which I have seen since I began this letter, with which I am now proceeding at Philadelphia.

On our return from Long Island, we were received at New York, as well by the acquaintances we made without as by those to whom we had introductions from England, more in a parental and brotherly way than in a manner you would call polite or elegant. European etiquette is not yet prevalent, or it is that which reigned on the other side of the water, at least half a century back, but toward the particular style of English dress, both sexes have made greater advances. But these matters, with the state of domestic economy, I shall leave for Maggie to describe. After some days stay in

and about New York, we set out for Newark, in New Jersey. On our way two objects were conspicuously impressive in a distance of only ten miles from our outset. The first, a swamp, through which we passed, three miles in a direct line over a well-made new road. This swamp was not merely remarkable from its being the first I had seen, but from a hill of solid land, called Snake-hill, thickly wooded, which rises with almost perpendicular declivity to a hight in the center, that in an Englishman's eyes, would merit the name of a mountain. When I say that the moment you could reach the base of this mount, in descending toward the plain, you would find far less footing than in an Irish shaking-bog, Snake-hill will be regarded by you, as it has been by me, a *lusus naturæ* of no small magnitude.

The next object, a production of art, was the bridge over the Hackinsack, to which may be added that over the Passaic river, both about three hundred yards in length, which unite neatness and strength of workmanship to an extent in timber that might well invite an European ten miles out of his road. The expense of erecting each of these, I conclude, from the account I have had of a similar one I have since crossed at Brunswick, over the Raritan, to be £30,000 Pennsylvania currency. Newark possessed sufficient attractions within itself to induce me to tarry there for some days, even if I had not resolved to do so for the sake of visiting the Passaic Falls, about fifteen miles off the main road.

Newark, if considered as a village, which it more resembles than a town, is perhaps the handsomest in the world. Of extent, nearly three miles; it is seated in a

plain, clear and level as a parlor floor, on the banks of the Passaic, in an amphitheater environed by gently swelling hills. Its Academy, Court-house, and two neat buildings for public worship, added to nine stages, which, besides an infinity of wagons, every day pass through it between New York and Philadelphia, give an air of business and gaiety to the place. It is also the residence of many private families of respectability, with some of whom we were previously well enough acquainted to be entertained longer than we chose to remain there. Land is here, within five miles round, from £30 to £40 an [illegible]ew York currency.

The Passaic Falls, as they differ, I fancy, from all others in America will always invite and entertain the naturalist. Their peculiarity arises from a fissure in the bed of the river, which is of solid rock, cleft in an oblique direction to a depth of eighty feet. The river meanders a considerable way in a serene current without a murmur, till it reaches the chasm where it falls with the majesty of thunder, and forever throws up a spray that, when interposed between the eye and the sun, exhibits an assemblage of rainbows of the most fantastic beauty.

From Newark to Philadelphia, I have only to remark the general sandy and poor appearance of the soil through Jersey State, which, however, is regarded as one of the best cultivated in the Union, and this indeed appears in the large extent of its corn country, and other agricultural improvements which, by trimming its timber, have rendered it sufficiently champaign to have caused it, during the late war, to be exposed to the

constant harrassings of the British. In this route I passed, with pleasing reflections, over the memorable grounds of Brunswick, Princeton and Trenton. At the latter place I crossed the Delaware, in sight of the spot where Providence, or his happy fortune, gave the President and America that confidence in the issue of the contest, wherein the Hessians were surprised, which, to save the country, could not have been delayed for a day. On this side of the Delaware industry seemed to stride, rather than to saunter, as she did, comparatively speaking, in the States of Jersey and New York. Here, after traveling in every direction over the soil, which yet she has not deserted, you may trace her footsteps not only under the earth, but from thence onward through all the stages of manufacture wood has yet passed in any country, and iron full one-half as far as it has reached in England. Of the extent of cotton, linen and wool, throughout the country, I can not yet positively speak. A considerable capital has been embarked at Patterson, near the Passaic Falls, in the cotton line; but it has altogether failed from a variety of causes, which, I think, independent of the long credits given in Europe, and the vast wilds here doomed for half a century yet to howl for population, will so long, at least, frustrate all attempts at adventure in the three last mentioned branches of trade.

The approach to Philadelphia, in this line, announces more a large busy city to which it leads, than any of those that surround New York; yet, from the detail of business I have before and since seen in both, assisted by a commercial view of the continent, it is pretty apparent

that the latter place is treading hard on the heels of the former already, and will soon step it by. At present, however, you see more stir at Philadelphia, more bustle in the streets, and far more English activity in both sexes. I inclose you a plan of the city, which, with fewer defects than any I know of, seems to have been conceived by Penn, upon the best principles to suit the climate, and provide for the health, while it accommodates the business, of the inhabitants. So much for Philadelphia.

The only great person I regret not having become acquainted with is the President. He unfortunately set off for home two days after my arrival, which prevented my attending his levée; but the day before his departure we were so fortunate as to be seated at church in the pew opposite to him. Adieu, my dear nephew, and believe me,

Your ever affectionate uncle,

H. BLENNERHASSETT.

P. S.—Maggie will speak for herself.

At that time, the territory west of the Alleghanies, particularly the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi, was comparatively a wilderness. The enterprise of the pioneer had driven, to more distant regions, the aborigines of the West. The occasional hamlet, with its few acres of cultivated ground, interrupted, at intervals, the "boundless contiguity of shade," and marked the abode of civilized and associated man. Villages, with rude habitations, here and there, broke the silence of the forest, and presented the cheering signs of dawning civilization. Through this vast solitude, the silvery current of the Ohio wended its way to the "father of waters."

The innovating steamer had never yet ruffled its bosom, nor startled its inhabitants with the sound of its machinery. The deer browsed among the thick undergrowth of its bottoms; the fox sought shelter in its caves; and the wail of the wolf was heard from the adjacent hills. Lands of almost inexhaustible fertility skirted its margin, and isles of peculiar beauty decked its surface.

Captivated with various descriptions of the country, in company with his wife, Blennerhassett set out to seek this delightful land. Crossing the rugged barriers of the Alleghanies, then a tedious and difficult undertaking, they arrived at Pittsburgh in the fall of 1796. Here they obtained passage on a keel-boat, in those days the most comfortable mode of traveling on the western waters, and shortly arrived at Marietta, a town of greater importance than any other in the State of Ohio.

The population of this pleasantly-situated village was unusually intelligent and moral. The puritanical character of its earlier inhabitants gave a tone to society, which identifies the present generation with their fathers who repose in their beautiful cemetery.

Fully satisfied with the attractiveness of the country, Blennerhassett abandoned his contemplated explorations of Kentucky and Tennessee, and resolved to locate in this enterprising settlement.

During the winter his time was pleasantly occupied in visiting the various families, and making occasional excursions through the neighborhood, to select a site for a residence. Above the village, and within a convenient distance, is an eminence of considerable height, commanding an extensive view of the river and surrounding

scenery. With this situation he was much pleased, and had almost determined to erect on its summit a castle, after the manner of many in his native country; but the ascent being difficult, and the declivities too precipitous, he abandoned the idea, and sought a situation more easy of access.

The following spring, he purchased an island in the Ohio river, about two miles below Parkersburg, or the mouth of the Little Kanawha, which, to his peculiar mind, possessed superior advantages to the adjacent farm. To one of romantic temperament, its locality was truly delightful. Upon its sloping banks waved the branches of the willow, and laved their foliage in the passing stream. The majestic forest trees, untouched by the hand of civilization, reared their trunks, as monarchs of the land; while the wild-brier and woodbine, blending in promiscuous profusion, entwined their tendrils around the shrubbery of the wild-wood. Flowers of rare beauty burst spontaneously from the soil, and mingled their fragrance with the passing breeze. The feathery songsters warbled their notes in the secluded groves, making vocal each branch with nature's music.

Could the mind, in pursuit of seclusion and repose, picture to its imagination a situation more desirable? Here might his cultivated taste adorn, to every extent, the ruder touches of nature, and mellow into softer shades the harsher outlines of her pencil; here might the mind, unfettered from worldly cares, drink deeper draughts from Truth's ever-flowing fountain; here,

"At the shadowy close of day,
When the hushed grove has sung its parting lay;

When pensive Twilight, in her dusty car,
Comes slowly on, to meet the evening star,
Above, below, aerial murmurs swell,
From hanging wood, brown heath, and bushy dell
A thousand nameless rills that shun the light;
Stealing soft music on the ear of night;
So oft the finer movements of the soul,
That shun the sphere of pleasure's gay control,
In the still shades of calm seclusion rise,
And breathe their sweet, seraphic harmonies."

When fatigued with the severer studies of science, he could amuse himself with the traditions and stories of several intelligent revolutionary soldiers who resided on the Belpré shore; or, as game abounded, might engage in the delightful sports of hunting and fishing.

That portion of the island purchased by Blennerhassett, was known by the familiar cognomen of "Backus's Island," and contained about one hundred and seventy acres. General Washington, it is said, embraced this gem of nature, in the many valuable tracts of land entered by him on the bottoms of the Ohio.

In 1798, Blennerhassett, having purchased the upper portion of the island, at a cost of four thousand five hundred dollars, moved into a block-house situated near the head. This, to those who had enjoyed the splendor of palaces, with the many conveniences which the arts of civilization afford, was a sorrowful exchange which few could desire, and fewer still would have made. He energetically commenced clearing the grounds of the thick growth of timber and underwood, for a site upon which to erect a dwelling. Many hands were requisite, in addition to the slaves he had recently purchased, for

the laborious task. The forest trees were uprooted, and their boughs and trunks conveyed away. The small inequalities, not suiting his fastidiousness, were smoothed and regulated as fancy dictated.

Vainly ambitious to excel any private residence west of the mountains, and to fashion it after those of his own country, economy and simplicity were not consulted in its construction. "The house and offices I occupy," he writes Devereux, the Irish patriot refugee, "stand me in upward of thirty thousand dollars, not mentioning gardens and shrubbery, in the English style, hedges, post fences, and complete farm-yards, containing barns, stables, overseers' and negro houses," etc.

To the mind of the voyager descending the river, as the edifice rose majestically in the distance, spreading its wings to either shore, the effect was magical; and emotions were produced, not unlike those experienced in gazing on the Moorish palaces of Andalusia. There was a spell of enchantment around it, which would fain induce the credulous to believe that it had been created by magic, and consecrated to the gods. On a nearer approach, was observed the beautifully graded lawn, decked with tasteful shrubbery, and interspersed with showy flowers; while, a little in the distance, the elm threw its dark branches over a carpet of most beautiful green sward. Beyond these, the forest trees were intermingled with copse-wood, so closely as to exclude the noon-day sun; and, in other places, they formed those long sweeping vistas, in the intricacies of which the eye delights to lose itself; while the imagination conceives them as the paths of wilder scenes of sylvan solitude.

The space immediately in the rear of the dwelling was assigned to fruits and flowers; of which the varieties were rare, excellent and beautiful; and the manner in which they were disposed over the surface, unique, elegant and tasteful. Espaliers of peach, apricot, quince and pear trees, extended along the exterior, confined to a picket fence; while, in the middle space, wound labyrinthine walks, skirted with flowering shrubs, and the eglantine and honey-suckle flung their melliferous blossoms over bowers of various forms.

On the south was the vegetable garden, and adjoining this, a thrifty young orchard, embracing many varieties of fruit, promising abundant supplies for future use. Not entirely neglecting the useful for the ornamental, a hundred acres had been cleared where were cultivated the various crops adapted to the soil.*

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* The Lower Kanawha is one hundred and fifty yards wide at its mouth. Opposite to this river is the town of Belpré, three miles from which is Backus's Island. On leaving Marietta, a lady and gentleman, who had been on a visit there, desired a passage to the island. This request was, with much pleasure, granted; and I had only to lament that the voyage was so short, which was to terminate my acquaintance with persons so truly interesting and amiable. The island hove in sight to great advantage from the middle of the river, from which point of view little more appeared than the simple decorations of nature—trees, shrubs, and flowers of every perfume and kind. The next point of view, on running with the current, on the right hand side, varied to a scene of enchantment; a lawn in the form of a fan inverted presented itself, the nut forming the center and summit of the island, and the broad segment the borders of the water. The lawn contained one hundred acres of the best pasture, interspersed with flowering shrubs and clumps of trees, in a manner that conveyed a strong conviction of the taste and judgment of the proprietor. The house came into view at the instant I was signifying a wish that such a lawn had a mansion. It stands on the immediate summit of the island, whose ascent is very gradual, is snow white, two stories high, and furnished with wings which interlock the adjoining trees, confine the

Such was the residence of Blennerhassett, after he had expended much labor and money to render it the reality of what before was but ideal, an image of which had long haunted his dreams of youthful fancy, as the picture of sylvan beauty, of peaceful solitude, and of calm repose. How marked the mutations of a few short years! Ireland, but as yesterday, claimed him as a representative of one of her great families, and the uncompromising advocate of her long neglected rights. The deference, due alike to rank and birth, in a monarchical government, was his by inheritance; and the favor

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prospect, and intercept the sight of barns, stables, and out-houses, which are so often suffered to destroy the effect of the noblest views in England. The full front of the house, being the signal for pulling in for the island, we did so immediately, and fell below a small wharf that covered an eddy, and made the landing both easy and secure. There was no resisting the friendly importunity of my passengers; no excuse would be taken; to stop the night at least was insisted upon, and with a convincing expression that the desire flowed from hearts desirous not to be refused. There is something so irresistible in invitations of such a nature, that they can not be denied. I gave instructions respecting my boat; and giving the lady my arm, we walked up the beautiful lawn, through which a winding path led to the house. It was tea-time; that refreshment was served and conducted with a propriety and elegance which I never witnessed out of Britain. The conversation was chaste and general, and the manners of the lady and gentleman were refined, without being frigid; distinguished, without being ostentatious; and familiar, without being vulgar, importunate, or absurd. Before the entire decline of day, we walked in the gardens, which were elegantly laid out in your country's style, produced remarkably fine vegetables, and had a very favorable show of standard peaches and other fruits. We next turned into the woods. I soon perceived why the island was named *Bacchus*. The island took its cognomen from the gentleman of whom it was purchased. It abounds with vines which grow to great hight and strength, but never produce to any perfection. The path we had taken led to the water, the border of which brought us to the boat, where, it seems, all the servants of the family had assembled to hear what news my people might have brought into their little world. We found them seated on the green around Mindeth, who, proud

of courts and of coronets was obtained without an effort, and resigned without control. Around him, a restless and distracted population were daily enacting scenes of outrage and oppression; and the hand of civilization, while it gave energy to intellect, and advanced the arts and sciences, proved a powerful auxiliary in aggravating the causes, and perpetuating the scenes of the revolution. To-day we view him as the retired citizen of a republic, in the bosom of the forest of the Western world, with no tie of kindred, save the faithful companion of his bosom, and the two little sons, Dominick and Harman, who had been added to his household. Quietly retired from the busy haunts of man, his hours of study were only intruded upon by the friendly visits of his neighbors, to whose natures, dissimulation and flattery were alike unknown, and whose society and attachment he cherished by reciprocal attentions.

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to be their historian, related tales of such peril, that they gazed on him with sensations of wonder and astonishment. I saw the lady so pleased with this scene, and so delighted in particular with Cuffee's truly rural establishment, that I proposed supping on the shore. My proposition was joyfully acceded to, and instructions given accordingly. After chatting some time on subjects immediately rising out of occurring incidents, and admiring the versatility of mind which one time finds felicity in towns, and midnight masquerades at another, acknowledges happiness on the contrasted theater of the rivers and wildernesses, we sat down to our repast, and in a short time paid it the strong encomium of a satiated appetite. Next morning I with difficulty tore myself away from this interesting family. You will excuse me for omitting the names of this amiable couple. They were emigrants of the first distinction from Ireland.—*Ache's Travels in America, a series of letters addressed to a friend in England in* 1806.

CHAPTER III.

BLENNERHASSETT was about six feet in stature, of slender proportions, and slightly stooping. He was entirely devoid of that *suaviter in modo*, which is so attractive to the gentler sex, and not unfrequently captivates the minds of firmer mold, in society at large. His forehead was prominent, and claimed for its possessor an intelligence above the ordinary capacity of mankind. His nose was the distinguishing feature of a face which wore an aspect of seriousness and thought, almost amounting to cold reserve. Like many of the nobility, he was extremely near-sighted; and, unlike many of the present age, who ape this defect of nature, he found it a matter of serious inconvenience. In gunning, particularly (an amusement of which he was passionately fond), he had usually to be accompanied by his wife, or some one of his servants, who levelled his fowling-piece and brought it to bear on the game. Peter, a domestic, who sometimes attended him, was in the habit of taking his station at a short distance, and giving directions after the following manner:

"Now, level, Mr. Blennerhassett. A little to the left! Now to the right!—there!—steady!—*fire!*"—Off would go the gun, and not unfrequently the game.

His usual dress was of the "old English style, with

scarlet, or buff-colored, small-clothes and silk stockings; shoes, with silver buckles; and a coat generally of blue broad-cloth. When at home, his dress was rather careless; often, in warm weather, in his shirt sleeves, without coat or waistcoat; and, in winter, he wore a thick woollen roundabout or jacket." *

Retiring in disposition, his life was sedentary and studious; books and philosophical experiments possessing greater attractions than the gay and fashionable assemblies of the ball-room. Always entertaining, he never indulged in trivial conversation, but interested his audience in something calculated more to instruct the understanding than to amuse their fancy.

His scientific studies, which were much facilitated by means of his various apparatus, included chemistry, electricity, galvanism, and astronomy. By the aid of a telescope and solar microscope, it was with much satisfaction that he could demonstrate the truth of his theories by practical observation, and acquaint himself more fully with the motions and positions of the planets, as well as the minuter bodies of the earth. While experimenting in chemistry, he had conceived the idea that animal substance might be so adipocerated as to subserve the use of spermaceti for light. He accordingly placed pieces of meat in a small inlet from the river, to undergo a chemical change. When the proper time had elapsed, as he supposed, to test the truth of his theory, on visiting the cove he found the finny tribes of the water had anticipated his experiment by converting the meat into food.

* Hildreth—"American Review," 1848.

The act was not repeated, and his theory remained undemonstrated.

He was a connoisseur in music, and performed admirably upon the violin and violincello. Many of his hours of recreation were whiled away with this delightful amusement; and, being an adept, pieces of his own composition were played with animating effect.

Of an unsuspecting disposition, he was easily imposed upon by the misrepresentations of others. Not unfrequently had he to pay enormously for his practical knowledge of life and human nature. It is reported of him that, on one occasion, having employed an individual to collect muscle shells from the beach, on which they were scattered in great profusion, when the laborer came to receive his pay, Blennerhassett inquired the reason of his high charge.

"The diving's so deep, and the shells are so scarce."

"But," replied Blennerhassett, "you do not dive, do you?"

"Ay, indeed! In fifteen feet water."

Believing there was no occasion for misrepresenting a fact, which could be readily ascertained by a short walk to the river, Blennerhassett paid the man his money—a sum equal to five times the real value of the shells.

Of a nervous temperament, he not unfrequently imagined objects which had no existence in nature, and apprehended evils that were never to be realized. Earthquakes and thunder-storms, to him, were intensely alarming; and such was his timidity on the approach of a threatening cloud, that it was his usual custom to close the doors and windows of his house, and place himself

in the centre of a bed, to avoid the accidental effects of the electric fluid.

Of his forensic talents, or legal ability, he never, in this country, gave evidence. He was not deficient, however, in either. The county court of Wood county recommended him to the Governor of Virginia for the magistracy; and by his Excellency he was duly commissioned: but presuming it a condescension for which he should be poorly paid, and still less respected, he modestly declined to "qualify," and remained a private citizen.

Let us turn, for a time, from the man, to contemplate the person and character of his companion. History affords but few instances where so much feminine beauty, physical endurance, and many social virtues, were combined with so brilliant a mind, in the person of a female.

Her stature was above the ordinary hight of her sex; her form well proportioned and beautifully symmetrical; her manners of the most captivating gracefulness, with sufficient dignity to repel familiarity and command respect. Her dark-blue eyes, beaming with love and affection, and "sparkling with life and intelligence," looked forth from beneath the long brown lashes, which hung as curtains to conceal their charms. Features of Grecian mold, embellished by a complexion whose carnation hue health and the hand of nature alone had painted. Her hair, which was of a dark-brown color, was usually concealed beneath a head-dress of rich-colored silk worn after the manner of the Turkish turban.

Her mind was not less polished than her manners; and the fluency with which she wrote and spoke the French and Italian languages, indicated a high degree of cultivation, to which few, even in this golden age of science and letters, have ever attained. Her taste for dramatic composition led her to adopt, as a favorite pastime, the rehearsal of Shakspeare's plays. These were usually executed with an effect which would have done honor to more professed connoisseurs, and exhibited a talent which needed only cultivation to have won laurels of lasting freshness in the theatrical world. Her familiarity with various French and English authors rendered her an agreeable companion for the man of letters, and proved a valuable assistant to her husband in recalling to mind some opinion or expresion of an author which had escaped his memory.

She cultivated, to some extent, a taste for poetry, and produced several pieces which are still in existence. As we are enabled to offer a specimen of her powers in this flowery department of literature, we forbear an expression of opinion, but leave the lines to represent their authoress.

But it is only in the every-day affairs of life that we can gain a perfect knowledge of the true character of individuals. It was in this peculiar sphere that Mrs. Blennerhassett exhibited an uncommon degree of excellence, and won the affection of all within her influence. She adapted her customs to the society around her, and joined in their amusements and festivities with all the spirit of one accustomed to frontier life from earliest infancy. Riding on horseback was a delightful and

healthy exercise, in which she frequently participated. At such times, she was usually habited in a fine cloth riding-dress, of scarlet color, richly bespangled with gold lace and glittering buttons. From her downy hat waved "the graceful plume of the ostrich," and the rich folds of her drapery fell gaily over the flanks of her noble steed. Over hill and through dale, with the fleetness of the deer, she took her course, and seldom did her attendant get a glimpse of his sprightly charge until she checked her speed to await his coming.

That she was capable of extraordinary physical endurance was frequently demonstrated by the long and speedy walks she performed, whether on business or visiting some favorite friend. She has been known to accomplish a pedestrian tour, of from ten to twenty miles, with as much ease as other ladies would make their usual calls among city or village acquaintances. Fences or fallen timbers were no impediments. Bounding over them with astonishing agility, she carelessly pursued her way, as though tracing the more familiar paths of the wild woods.

Although she participated in the various amusements through the country, and was the ruling spirit of every assembly, she never neglected the ordinary duties of her household; every apartment received her personal attention, from the kitchen to the chambers, and was duly cleansed and arranged according to her direction. By her were the daily tasks of the servants assigned, while she performed with cheerfulness the duties devolving upon herself.

CHAPTER IV.

THE character and habits of life of the early settlers of Western Virginia, are topics which have engaged the labors of but few pens; but they are not the less interesting on that account.

Many of the inhabitants of this new, and hitherto uncultivated, portion of the State, were intelligent sons of families of distinction in the "Old Dominion." The great abundance of game of nearly every variety, the free and exciting sports of a life in the Western wilds, devoid of care and free from the conventional restraints of society; the health-invigorating glorious fun of following

> "The stag to the slippery crag,
> And chasing the bounding roe,"

combined to allure the ardent and pleasure-loving youths from the tamer scenes of their childhood to those boundless fields of new and ever-changing excitement. Others enjoying smaller patrimonies, hearing of the rich alluvial bottoms of the Ohio and its tributaries, and the low price at which land could be procured, deserted their less inviting homesteads to seek new sources of wealth beyond those blue peaks which many regarded as the Western limit of civilization. Penury, and the exhausted lands of other portions of the State, drove no incon-

siderable number in search of genial soil, where the hand of man might realize rich returns from the toil bestowed upon it; or the abounding game should furnish supplies without the effort which nature requires of those who seek her bounties.

Populated by these various classes, enticed thither through considerations as different as the dispositions and circumstances of the individuals themselves, that love of society which is seldom lost in man served to banish distinctions of rank, and render an absolute equality essentially necessary to their social existence. Around the blazing fire, the son of the wide-famed statesman tripped merrily in the mazes of the dance with the daughter of the unknown peasant. The scholar, orator and divine strove, in eager emulation, to plant their rifle-balls as near the center of the target as that of the uncultivated woodsman.

Remote from friends, from society, and the pleasing associations of earlier years, they devised amusements in every thing, and made frolic of labor itself. A house-raising, or log-rolling, was as cheerfully attended as the wedding of a favorite friend; and a corn-husking collected the inhabitants from several miles around. The almost daily interchange of civilities, and constant association of the various classes, as well for the purpose of joint protection against the deadly rifle of the savage, as the innate love of company, served to mold the general character of the population into a distinct type, peculiar to themselves, and stamped their virtues with an originality which the mutations of time have failed to change.

The Virginian, thus re-molded (if we may be allowed the expression), from his active habits of life, was capable of extraordinary feats of strength and astonishing agility of limb. For a wrestle or a foot-race, he was always ready, and never refused a challenge to take a trial at either. While, to gratify his revenge, he would have grappled with Apollo for the tripod of the temple; yet the overflowing fountains of his heart gushed forth, in streams of sympathy, for the misfortunes of his fellow-men. Chivalrous, brave, and independent, "he would not have courted Neptune for his trident, nor Jove for his power to thunder." With a generosity bordering on extravagance, his house, his horse, his gun—yea, every thing but the sacredness of virtue—were at the disposal of his friends. Clad in the buck-skin moccasin, with a hunting-shirt of linsey-woolsey, his rifle on his shoulder, and a butcher-knife at his side, he never changed his apparel to suit the circumstances under which he was placed; and, whether pursuing the fleeting game, visiting a neighbor, or attending the services of the church, the same attire was suitable both to the day and the occasion.

The deer hunt, the horse-race, and ever-glorious fox-chase, were the usual sources of amusement among the men; while the women found enjoyment at the various wool-pickings and quiltings throughout the neighborhood. The circumstance of their spending so much time in the enjoyment of lawful amusements, is to be accounted for in the fact, that, at that early period, they had but few desires to be satisfied, and fewer wants to be supplied. There being then but little, if any, demand

for agricultural produce, it was unnecessary to raise more than the consumption of the immediate vicinity required. Remotely situated from the extravagance and luxury of more cultivated society, there was no need of mahogany sideboards, groaning with champagne, nor of Brussels nor Turkey carpets to decorate their floors.

Their unflinching patriotism was repeatedly tested in the Revolution, and in various engagements with the Indians. At the first call of their country's voice, the animated response was heard in every hamlet. When they had neither the soldier's uniform, nor equipages, nor arms, they seized their trusty rifles; and, from their smiling fields of toil, from the pleasant scenes of their sportive pastimes, they flew to win a soldier's name or a soldier's grave. The result of their efforts shall glow beneath the pencil and the pen—shall live in national song, and survive in the spirit-stirring anthem, till none are worthy to repeat the strain, or to paint the scenes of their country's glory! When the question of the purchase of Louisiana was first mooted in our national councils, and it was then urged that the inhabitants of that territory would prevent a free and easy navigation of the Mississippi river;—"Give me," said Washington, "three hundred picked men, well-tried and true, of old West Augusta,* and I will *carve* my way to the Gulf." What higher compliment could have been paid to the patriotism and bravery of the original settlers of the

* This was the term applied to all the territory west of the Alleghanies, known as the North-West Territory. Augusta County then comprising the whole.

trans-Alleghany country, of whom a few still remain, as land-marks by which to trace the characters of the departed?

While this type of character occupied the Eastern shore of the Ohio, that of the West contained another, as marked and distinct as that of the Cavalier from the Roundhead. Many revolutionary officers and soldiers of the Northern States, who had exhausted their resources in fighting the battles of their country, and who, from the depleted state of the national finances had to remain for a time without indemnity, either for their services or losses, sought this new land, where they could recuperate their shattered fortunes by economy and industry. Others, too, of the sons of New England, attracted also by the fruitful valleys of this beautiful and majestic river, bade farewell to the rocky and ungrateful soil of their birth, and, with a plow and a bed, a Bible and a wife, set out for the West. Here, hundreds of miles from father Aminidab and mother Patience, they set themselves industriously to work, clearing up farms, from which to realize fortunes, as soon as the circumstances of the country would permit. That their most sanguine expectations have been fully realized, is happily demonstrated by the fields waving with grain, valleys filled with herds, and hills covered with flocks, which meet the eye of the traveler as he passes along the stream. While the meed of praise has been awarded them for their indefatigable industry, they have not been regarded as possessing that generous hospitality which is characteristic of their neighbors of Virginia. Educated to believe there was no product without labor, no

wealth without economy, they indulged but little in amusements, and were careful against expense. In their moral and religious observances, they were rigidly austere. Like the Puritans of Plymouth Rock, from whom they were descended, the Bible formed the chief rule of their conduct. Their family government was based upon its precepts, and its holy teachings were listened to, each Sabbath, in the "forest sanctuary." True, some there were who occasionally broke over the more austere lessons which had been taught them by their parents, but the exceptions, "like angels' visits, were few and far between." If their liberality at any time exhibited itself, it was usually toward objects of charity, or to spread the teachings of that gospel which they had been taught ever to revere. For bravery and devotion to the welfare of their country, they were justly regarded the equals of their neighbors; and acts of Indian cruelty were jointly revenged by the two. Having enjoyed early advantages in the best schools and academies of their native States, they were fully informed upon the subjects usually taught at such institutions, and many possessed talents of superior brilliancy.

Such were the men with whom Blennerhassett had cast his fortunes. The variety of characters, perhaps, was as great, if the number of persons was far less, as that of the society he had recently abandoned. There was the hospitable Virginian, who, though he neither claimed nor desired the titular dignity of a nobleman, exhibited a generosity equal to that of its proudest possessor,—a generosity which knew no bounds, and awaited no emergency for its exercise. With a reckless

prodigality, he scattered his bounties broadcast; threw open the doors of hospitality; lavishing, with an unsparing hand, the gifts which fortune had bestowed upon him. There was the high-toned chivalry of the Crusades, which stooped to no baseness; cringed to no superior; nor was intimidated by menace; performing kindnesses, without ostentation, acts of daring, without boasting, and relieving the wants of the distressed, without the hope of reward. There was the zealous Puritan, acknowledging no superior but God; no law binding on the moral man but the Bible; no religion but that of Calvin; rejecting the unmeaning forms of Popery; combating the doctrine of apostolic succession; and discarding, in his worship, the use of the gown, the surplice, and the prayer-book. There, the meek and pious Christian, dispensing charities without parsimony; visiting the sick and the afflicted, and mingling the comforts of religion with the sad and agonizing scenes of death. And there, too, alas!—the crafty and wily miscreant, making promises never to be fulfilled; taking advantages in trade; regarding neither the teachings of Holy Writ, nor the precepts of morality; but ever faithless, ever insincere, prostrating virtue without compunction, and indulging in every lawless vice.

CHAPTER V.

Before entering upon the more important incidents in the life of Blennerhassett, a preliminary view of Western history is necessary to a knowledge of subsequent events.

But few of the millions who now populate the valley of the Mississippi, are familiar, even by tradition, with the difficulties which attended its early colonization. While the States of the Atlantic had engaged the energies of the government, the pioneers of the wilderness had been seriously neglected. That young and fertile region lay yet an unbroken forest, but sparsely inhabited, and separated from the sea-board by interminable mountains and boundless solitudes. Shut out from the avenues of trade, it contributed nothing to the resources of the government, then much reduced by the Revolution, and the demands of its citizens were regarded as burthens to the State, and useless exactions from the public treasury. Nature, it is true, had supplied it with those noble rivers, now the great arteries of trade, but the arbitrary interdict of Spain had closed them against the enterprise and energy of the people.

The navigation of the Mississippi had been a fruitful source of complaint almost from the first occupation of the territory. Favorites had been rewarded by the

authorities of Louisiana, but even these had been compelled to contribute to the Spanish Crown. Congress had been frequently solicited to assert the rights of the people, whose prosperity was retarded by the restrictive intercourse of trade, yet such was the embarrassment of the government, they could but faintly hope for relief, and that, if at all, at a distant day, and under many disabilities.

The murmurings of discontent which thus far had been comparatively, but faintly, heard, began now to assume a more threatening tone. Those who had been most loyal in their affection for the Republic, faltered in their allegiance to the confederation. The Government had been admonished of a rupture of the Union, and a forcible alliance with a rival power. Measures of relief had been seriously determined on, but the manner of their accomplishment was a subject of no little diversity of opinion. While some advocated the separate organization of a new Republic, independent of the United States, and closely allied with Spain, others desired annexation to Louisiana, and submission to Spanish domination. Some there were who advised a war with Spain, as affording a pretext for seizing on New Orleans; while a fourth suggested that Congress should be prevailed on to show preparation for war, and by alarming their apprehensions, "extort from the Cabinet of Madrid what it persisted in refusing." The fifth and last suggested, that France should be solicited to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and to extend her protection to the inhabitants of Kentucky.*

Martin's History of Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 101.

The extension of its American possessions, and the control of trade, had long been the desire of the Spanish Crown. The occasion was opportune, and did not escape the superior vigilance of its public servant. The obstruction to navigation, which had been purposely thrown in the way of the inhabitants of the upper country, seemed now to have produced the desired result; and Miro, the Governor of Louisiana, flattered himself, from the discontent which appeared every where prevailing, that at no distant day he could report to the Cabinet the dismemberment of Kentucky from the Union, and its voluntary acknowledgement of Spanish domination.

General James Wilkinson was at that time one of the leading men of the district. He had been a successful soldier in the Revolution, and greatly distinguished himself by his unflinching courage and superior military tact. Like many of his compatriots, at the close of the war, he had been left with limited pecuniary resources, and found it necessary to turn his attention to other pursuits. Still comparatively young, with a vigorous constitution, and superior intellectual attainments, he hoped soon to establish an independence of fortune, and elevate himself to distinguished civic position. With a remarkably discriminating judgment, few men better understood the motives which influence human action, and none more successful in wielding that knowledge to his own advantage.

In the fall of 1787, having laden a boat with tobacco and flour, he descended to New Orleans, with the ostensible purpose of making arrangements with the Spanish

authorities, by which to secure to the inhabitants of the upper waters the free navigation of the river, and a market for their products. Scarcely had he landed, however, before he found himself surrounded by a retinue of officers, who informed him that they were directed to seize upon his cargo, which had been confiscated to the Government, and that he himself was required to appear before the Governor. Miro soon discovered that the individual, of all others, whom he could have most desired for the furtherance of his objects, was then in his presence, a suppliant for his favor. He found in Wilkinson a man of ripe experience and extensive influence. Insinuating in address, bold but reserved, with a ready familiarity in the passing affairs of foreign governments, not less than in those of his own, he possessed in an eminent degree many of the higher qualities of an accomplished diplomatist. Hence, it was of the first importance that his services should be secured to the interest of the crown, which might thus, by the efficient aid of an emissary in disguise, perfect its plans without the hazard of detection. At the close of the interview, the boats were released, and permission granted to dispose of the cargo. A generous display of hospitality, on the part of the Governor and citizens, soon succeeded. Costly feasts and brilliant assemblages became the daily entertainment, to which Wilkinson was invited. Permission was also granted him to "introduce into Louisiana, free of duty, many Western articles of trade which were adapted to the market."

The sudden and growing intimacy between the Spanish Governor and American planter had been marked by

many, and excited a suspicion of intrigue between the two. It was slyly insinuated that something beyond commercial privileges was in negotiation; but with its objects and entire extent they were, as yet, imperfectly acquainted. Nothing was at that time disclosed further than that Wilkinson had written a dissertation "respecting the political interests of Spain and the inhabitants of the United States, dwelling in the regions upon the Western waters." This was addressed to Miro, to be forwarded to the King of Spain, with whom he desired it to be known that he was then negotiating for the free navigation of the Mississippi. But it has been asserted, and certainly not without proof, that this communication was intended by Wilkinson to conceal a different design, indorsed by Miro, and to which but few others were privy.

Gardoqui, the Spanish minister in Philadelphia, without the knowledge of Miro, and, therefore, without concert of plan, had conceived the project of settling Louisiana by emigration from the United States. By this means he hoped to draw to the interest of the Spanish Crown the people of Kentucky, which should result in her secession from the Union, with other districts then similarly disaffected.

To Pierre d'Argès, Gardoqui committed the execution of his scheme. By authority of the Cabinet at Madrid, he invited the inhabitants of Kentucky, and those dwelling along the Cumberland, to remove to West Florida, and the Florida district of Lower Louisiana, and place themselves under the protection of Spain. Liberal grants of land, with extensive privileges, were offered to

all who desired to better their condition; and as a greater inducement to those owning property, slaves, stock, farming utensils, and provisions for two years, were to be admitted free; while a duty of twenty-five per cent. was levied upon property imported into the colony for trade or consumption.

But the plan of the Spanish representative threatened a collision with that of Miro. Both were ambitious of the favor at court, with which the success of their undertakings would be rewarded; and hence they desired to keep as a secret the means by which the object was to be effected.

In a dispatch addressed by Miro on the 8th of January, 1788, to Valdès, the Minister and Secretary of State for the department of the Indies, writing of the plans of D'Argès, he says: "I fear that they may clash with Wilkinson's principal object. In the first place, D'Argès having presented himself here with very little prudence and concealment, it may turn out, that Wilkinson, in Kentucky, being made aware of the mission of this agent, may think we are not sincere, and that, endeavoring to realize his project without him, we use him merely as a tool to facilitate the operations of D'Argès. Under the impression that D'Argès may reap the whole credit of the undertaking, in case of success, it may happen that he will counteract them; for this reason I have been reflecting for many days, whether it would not be proper to communicate to D'Argès Wilkinson's plans, and to Wilkinson the mission of D'Argès, in order to unite them, and to dispose them to work in concert. But I dare not do so, because D'Argès may

consider that the great projects of Wilkinson may destroy the merit of his own, and he may communicate them to some one who might cause Wilkinson to be arrested as a criminal; and, also, because Wilkinson may take offense at another being admitted to participate in confidential proceedings upon which depended his life and honor, as he expresses himself in his memoir."*

In the same dispatch he continues: "The delivering up of Kentucky into his Majesty's hands, which is the main object to which Wilkinson has promised to devote himself entirely, would forever constitute this province a rampart for the protection of New Spain. * * * * * * * * * * * *

The Western people would no longer have any inducement to emigrate, if they were put in possession of a free trade with us. This is the reason why this privilege should be granted only to a few individuals having influence among them, as is suggested in Wilkinson's memorial, because, in their seeing the advantages bestowed on the few, they might be easily persuaded to acquire the like by becoming Spanish subjects."

Wilkinson, having remained several months at New Orleans, instead of returning to Kentucky by way of the river, sailed for Philadelphia, from whence he proceeded

* This official dispatch of Miro's reveals the fact of what had before rested only on suspicion, that Wilkinson prepared two memorials to the king—one for the eye of the public, particularly the people of the West, asserting their rights and the importance of their trade to Louisiana and to Spain, and expressing his fears, in the meantime, lest the English should intervene, and, by joining with the disaffected portion of the western districts, wrest from the Spanish crown its possessions in Louisiana; the other, intended only for the Cabinet at Madrid, disclosing a plan for the acquisition of Kentucky, by her separation from the Union and attachment to Louisiana.

to Richmond, Virginia, then the seat of Government for the Kentucky District. From this point he addressed a letter to Gardoqui, relative to the affairs of Louisiana, and, as he subsequently informed Miro, to sound him upon his plans, and to divert his attention from himself, as he had been informed that his own reception at New Orleans had been the subject of comment by the Spanish Minister.

Gardoqui, in the meantime, was busily engaged in carrying forward his scheme of colonization. Col. George Morgan, a soldier of the Revolution, had conceived himself greatly injured by the Government, in rejecting what he believed a meritorious claim, and smarting under his disappointment, resolved to avail himself of the opportunity of placing himself beyond the limits of the United States, and, by securing a liberal grant of the Spanish Crown, to restore his broken fortunes in the fertile valley of the Mississippi. Having applied to Gardoqui, he obtained the conveyance of a vast tract of land, situated some seventy miles below the mouth of the Ohio, upon which he stipulated to place a large number of families, and subsequently laid out the town of New Madrid. D'Argès had already informed Charles de Grandprè, Governor of Natches, to have preparation made for the reception of fifteen hundred and eighty-two families, which were expected soon to arrive from Kentucky to take possession of their promised bounties.*

* To each family not owning negroes was granted six arpens of land, fronting a bayou or water-course, with forty in depth, making a total of two hundred and forty arpens; to such as had two, three, or four slaves, or had a family composed of four or six adult unmarried sons capable of working, ten arpens in front by forty in depth; to such as had from ten

During the month of February, 1788, Wilkinson returned across the mountains to Kentucky. His splendid equipage and numerous servants attracted the attention and excited the wonder of his old companions, while rumors were freely circulated, that his sudden exhibition of wealth was to be attributed to something beyond the profits on his Southern cargo. It was suggested that others, who should follow his example, might discover the source from whence it sprung, and that the philosopher's stone, which was to turn every thing it touched into gold, lay within the limits of the Spanish dominion. On the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi he grew quite enthusiastic, demonstrating in glowing language the benefits to be derived from direct commercial relations with New Orleans, and at the same time informing his friends of the exclusive privileges which had been granted him by the Spanish Governor. He entered into large contracts for tobacco, and at once excited the jealousy of his rivals by the liberal prices offered for western products.*

Soon after his return he dispatched a pirogue, with two oarsmen, to New Orleans, conveying a communication†

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to twenty negroes, fifteen arpens by forty; and to those owning more than twenty negroes, twenty arpens by forty.

* Marshall's History of Kentucky, Vol. I, p. 283.

† Most of these dispatches, if not all, were originally in cypher; they are to be found at length, and in Spanish, in the archives of Spain. Copies made in compliance with a resolution of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, under the supervision of M. de Gayangos, a gentleman distinguished for his learning and literary works; and also under the direction of his Excellency Romulus Saunders, who was then the United States Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid, are deposited in the office of the Secretary of State at Baton Rouge.—*Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. III, p.* 211.

to Miro, informing the latter of his safe return across the mountains, and assuring him that their joint design was soon to be accomplished, as Kentucky had separated herself from Virginia, and the rest, as Spain desired, must inevitably follow. "I have," he says, "collected much European and American news, and have made various interesting observations for our political designs. It would take a volume to contain all that I have to communicate to you. But I dispatch this letter with such haste, and its fate is so uncertain, that I hope you will excuse me for not saying more until the arrival of my boats, and, in the meantime, I pray you to content yourself with this assurance, *all my predictions are verifying themselves, and not a measure is taken on both sides of the mountains which does not conspire to favor ours.* * * * I beg you to be easy, and to be satisfied that nothing shall deter me from attending exclusively to the object we have in hand, and I am convinced that the success of our plan will depend on the disposition of the court."

Whether Wilkinson was really in earnest in carrying into execution the designs of the Spanish Governor, may, by some, be regarded as a matter of conjecture; but that he was, nevertheless, using him for pecuniary gain, is clearly established by Miro's frequent dispatches to the home government, recommending the purchase of increased amounts of tobacco, in which it was known that Wilkinson was then dealing.

"There is no means," he writes, "more powerful to accomplish the principal object we have in view, in the memorial which has been laid before his Majesty, than the promise, that the government will take as much as

six millions of their tobacco, instead of the two millions which are now bought from them."

In a subsequent dispatch, after the arrival of several flat-boats, owned by Wilkinson, and under charge of Major Dunn, which the Governor was assured cost seven thousand dollars in Kentucky, Miro says, that, from the beginning, Wilkinson had informed him that he was not possessed of any pecuniary resources; that on the recommendation of the Intendant, he had obtained a loan of three thousand dollars from a gentleman in New Orleans, and, therefore, requested that his cargo should not be seized, as he had pledged the product of its sale to refund the sum, and to pay his crew, and the amount due on the tobacco, which had been purchased on credit. The balance was to enable him to support himself without embarrassment, and to contribute to preserve and increase his influence in his own State. "Although his candor," he continues, "and the information which I have sought from many who know him well, seem to assure us that he is working in good earnest, yet I am aware it may be possible that his intention is to enrich himself at our expense, by inflating us with hopes and promises which he knows to be vain. Nevertheless, I have determined to humor him on this occasion."

Dunn had left Kentucky, in charge of the boats and cargo, on the 15th of May, bearing with him a letter of introduction from Wilkinson. He informed the Governor and Intendant that the Major was an old military companion, who had come to settle in the country during his absence. The reliance which he placed in his honor, his discretion, and his talents, had induced him, after

sounding his disposition with proper caution, to choose him as a fit auxiliary in the execution of their political designs, which he had embraced with credulity. Dunn, he said, would, therefore, present himself in order to confer with them on those points which would require more examination, and to concert with them those measures which they might deem necessary to expedite "*our*" plan, and that, through him, he, Wilkinson, might be able to receive the new instructions which they might deem expedient to send him. "I have also chosen him, he continues, "to bring back the product of the present cargo of my boats."

For these reasons, he wished to recommend him as one worthy of their entire confidence, and as a safe and sagacious man, who was properly acquainted with the political state of the American Union, and with the circumstances of the Western country.

He further informed them, that on the first day of January of the next year (1789), by mutual consent, the district of Kentucky would cease to be subject to the jurisdiction of Virginia. That while it was true it had been stipulated, as a necessary condition of their independence, that Kentucky should be acknowledged as an independent State by Congress, and be admitted, as such, into the Federal Union, yet a convention had already been called to form the constitution of that district, and he felt persuaded that no action on the part of Congress would ever induce the people to abandon the plan which they had adopted, although he had received recent intelligence that that body would, beyond a doubt, recognize Kentucky as a sovereign State.

The convention was to meet in July; and in the meantime he would inquire into the prevailing opinions, and should thereby be able to ascertain the extent of the influence of the members elected. When that was done, after having previously come to an understanding with two or three individuals capable of assisting him, he should disclose so much of their great scheme as might appear appropriate. He, as yet, had been communicative but to two individuals; he, however, had sounded many; and wherever he had made known to any of them Miro's answer to his memorial, it had given the greatest satisfaction. Col. Alexander Leatt Bullitt, and Harry Innis, the Attorney-General, were the only persons to whom he had fully communicated; and should any mishap befall him before the accomplishment of their ends, he desired the Spanish authorities to address themselves to these gentlemen, whose political designs, he asserted, agreed with their own. An early organization of the State government was anticipated, at which time it was intended to appoint an agent to treat with Spain; and as for Congress opposing any obstacle to the measure, it was ridiculously absurd; for under the federal compact, that body could neither furnish men nor money; and, as to the new government, should it ever establish itself, it would have to encounter difficulties which would keep it weak for three or four years, before the expiration of which, he had good reason for believing, that himself and Miro would complete their negotiations, and would become too strong for any force that could be sent against them.

Urging upon the authorities the great importance of

permitting him to trade unmolested, and allowing but few individuals to pass duty free, he says: "The only tie which can preserve the connection of the Western country with the Atlantic States, is the necessity of relying on them altogether for their supplies of such articles as are not manufactured by the people; and as soon as they ascertain that these can be procured through the river, their dependent state will cease, and with it all motives of connection with the other side of the Apalachian mountains."

Major Dunn confirmed the statement of Wilkinson, and assured Miro that the next year after the meeting of the first assembly, in which Kentucky would act as an independent State, she would separate from the Federal Union. He further assured the Governor, that many of the most distinguished citizens of the State had expressed themselves to that effect, and that the direction of the current of the rivers, which washes in front of their dwellings, pointed clearly to the power to which they should ally themselves.

About this time Miro was much gratified at the receipt of a copy of a dispatch from McGillivray, the half-breed Chief of the Salapouches, to the Governor of Pensacola, in which he informed the Spanish official that the settlers in the Cumberland and Kentucky districts, against whom he had committed many atrocities, had sued for peace; and, as an inducement to a cessation of hostilities, had assured him that they would throw themselves into the arms of his Majesty, as subjects, and were determined to free themselves from their dependence on Congress, because that body could not protect either their persons

or their property, nor, by favoring commerce, promote their prosperity: hence they owed no obedience to a power which was incapable of benefiting them.

Elated with the prospects of success, Miro's dispatches to the King spoke so encouragingly, and with such confidence, that they did not fail to create high hopes in the breast of the Cabinet as to the favorable result of his plans. Martin Navarro, his associate, had left the province for Spain, and Miro exercised in his own person the two offices of Intendant and Governor. No other person had been sent to supply his place; it being deemed best to leave negotiations entirely with the few who had been admitted to the secret, lest Wilkinson and his associates might be exposed.

Until now, Gardoqui and the Governor had been acting separate parts. Both were ambitious to accomplish their projects, and both were emulous of the rewards which were to follow. Neither had communicated his secrets to the other, while both were struggling for a common design. With such privacy had they conducted their several schemes, that even Wilkinson was as yet uninformed of the secret agency of D'Argès. Miro had failed to apprise him of it for fear of the displeasure it might occasion him and Gardoqui, through a distrust of the General, and a desire to accomplish his object without his co-operation.

The diplomacy displayed by these two officials of his Majesty evinces talents of no ordinary ability. Both were dealing with an experienced tactician, who prided himself upon his superior sagacity. He had, as yet, gained neither the affection of the one, nor the confi-

dence of the other. Both had read their antagonist, and conceived they knew the individual with whom they confederated. Miro had, therefore, to suppress a smile at Wilkinson's ingenuousness in communicating the fact that he had been approached by both French and English emissaries, who were busily engaged in enlisting, each in his own behalf, the interests of Kentucky.

"It is to my knowledge," writes Wilkinson, "that the Court of Versailles has, for years past, been collecting every sort of information with reference to this district, and that it would give a great deal to recover its possessions on the Mississippi. In the year 1785, a knight of St. Louis, named D'Argès, arrived at the falls of the Ohio, gave himself out for a naturalist, and pretended that his object was to inquire into the curious productions of this country, but his manner of living contradicted his assertion. He made few acquaintances, lived very retired, and during one year that he remained here he never went out of Louisville, where he resided, further than six miles. On his perusing the first memorial which the people of this district presented to the Legislature of Virginia, on the question of separation, he expressed his admiration that there should be in so new a country, a writer capable of framing such a composition; then, after having made some reflections on the progressive importance of our settlement, he exclaimed with enthusiasm, 'Good God! my country has been blind, but its eyes shall be opened.' The confidential friend of this gentleman was a Mr. Tardiveau, who had resided many years in Kentucky. D'Argès used to draw drafts on M. de Marbois, then Consul of France, at New

York; and, finally, he lived as one who belonged to the family of Count de Moustier, the French Minister; and I am informed, from a good source, that he presented to this same Count de Moustier, a very elaborate memorial on these settlements, which was forwarded to the Court of France.

"Perhaps, sir," he continues, "you will think this information frivolous, but I am sure you will believe that it proceeds from my devoted zeal for the interests of Spain. Please remember that trifles light as air, frequently are, for the faithful and the zealous, proofs as strong as those of Holy Writ."* This same D'Argès was then in the actual service of Gardoqui, under instructions from the Court of Madrid, and in conference with Miro.

Wilkinson had been actively engaged in sowing the seeds of dissension in Kentucky. George Muter, Harry Innis, John Brown and Benjamin Sebastian, conspicuous and influential men, had been admitted to the secret, and were fully committed to the enterprise. Possessing talents of marked ability themselves, they, nevertheless, looked to Wilkinson for counsel and direction. The people were kept in constant agitation by conventions and meetings on the subject of their grievances. The Secretary of State, Mr. Jay, it was asserted, had formed, or was about to form, a treaty with Spain, by which the exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi for twenty-five years, on the part of his Majesty, was to be recognized by the United States Government. Delegates had been

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*Gayarre, Vol. III, p. 288.

assembled from the principal counties of Kentucky, had discussed their grievances, and had separated without any organized plan. The people became distracted, their burthens became more and more intolerable; and many seemed willing to resort to any thing that promised a present relief. It was true that not a few of the evils of which they complained were imaginary—some unavoidable—perhaps all, in time, would have been satisfactorily adjusted; yet they conceived themselves aggrieved, and it was the policy of their leaders to cultivate such a belief.

Wilkinson had returned in February, 1788. He had sailed from New Orleans to Philadelphia; visited Richmond, Virginia; was present in the Assembly when the separation of Kentucky was voted on, and was greatly gratified when the result was announced. His entrance into Lexington was grand and imposing. He had left there poor and in debt, only the summer before, but now flourished in splendid chariot, drawn by four richly-caparisoned horses, and attended by several slaves.* Unfavorable rumors were freely circulated. By some, it was hinted that at New Orleans he had sold both his cargo and himself; that, in fact, he had taken the oath of allegiance, and had already become a subject of Spain. He informed them, himself, of the exclusive privileges granted him by the Governor, by which he could ship tobacco, and deposit it at the king's store at ten dollars the hundred, which was a privilege allowed only to his Majesty's subjects. He advocated the right to navigate

* Marshall's History of Kentucky, Vol. I, p. 263.

the Mississippi, urged the great importance of a commercial connection of the two countries, and insinuated that it might all be effected by a separation from the Union and the independence of Kentucky. Many were already convinced; others felt that their prosperity had been too long retarded by the inactivity of the Government. "What has been accomplished by Wilkinson," they argued, "may also be effected for ourselves." As yet they had derived no benefits from the Union; but as an independent State they could form an alliance with Spain, and reap the advantages of her liberal patronage. The incredulous, of whom there were many, were reluctant to move. Although they divined the object of Wilkinson's mission, still he stood high in popular favor, and they were cautious of giving offense. Some there were, who would have openly denounced him, but the facts upon which to base an accusation had been carefully concealed. By the multitude, however, his acts were highly extolled, and he was flattered by the acknowledgement that to him alone were the citizens of the West indebted for opening that navigation, which Mr. Jay had offered to surrender, and of realizing that commerce which Congress had failed to secure.

But there was a new cause of excitement which promised to facilitate his design. The merits of the new Constitution of the United States, which had been recently adopted by eleven States of the Union, was the subject of universal interest. The policy of its acceptance was daily discussed in bar-rooms, at the hustings, and in social assemblies. Many of its provisions were known to be unpopular with a majority of the

citizens of Kentucky, yet it was hoped that the objections might all be obviated by subsequent amendment. The people of the Kentucky district had been called upon to send delegates to Richmond, to meet in Convention in the month of June, at which time it was expected that Virginia would declare her sentiments upon the subject. The session was protracted for three weeks. At length a vote was taken, on the 20th of June, and the instrument ratified by a vote of eighty-eight to seventy-eight; but three of the Kentucky members voting for it, while eleven declared against it.

While the preliminary elections were being held, for members of the Convention at Richmond, the people were also required to select delegates to a District Convention, to assemble at Danville, charged with the important trust of framing a Constitution for the new State. Wilkinson was chosen a member of that body. It convened on the 28th of July, and proceeded to organize. Its deliberations, however, were suddenly terminated, by the announcement of its president, that he had received a dispatch stating that Congress had declined any further action on the subject of Kentucky; had, in fact, adjourned without having passed an act for her admission into the Confederation, and leaving the decision, on that important question, to the Congress about to be formed under the recently-adopted Constitution.*

"From this proceeding of Congress," writes Wilkinson to Miro, "it resulted that the Convention was of opinion that our proposed independence and separation

* Marshall's History of Kentucky, Vol. I, p. 228.

from Virginia, not being ratified, its mission and powers were at an end, and we found ourselves in the alternative, either of proceeding to declare our independence, or of waiting according to the recommendation of Congress. This was the state of affairs when the Honorable Caleb Wallace, one of our Supreme Judges, the Attorney General, Innis, and Benjamin Sebastian, proposed a prompt separation from the American Union, and advocated, with intrepidity, the necessity of the measure. The artifice of Congress was exposed, its proceedings reprobated, the consequences of depending on a body whose interests were opposed to ours, were depicted in the most vivid colors, and the strongest motives were set forth to justify the separation. The arguments used were unanswerable, and no opposition was manifested in the course of the debates. It was conceded, unanimously, that the present connection was injurious to our interests, and that it could not last any length of time. Nevertheless, sir, when the question was finally taken, fear and folly prevailed against reason and judgment. It was thought safer and more convenient to adhere to the recommendation of Congress, and, in consequence, it was decided that the people be advised to elect a new Convention, which should meet in the month of November."*

"To consolidate the interest and confirm the confidence of our friends; to try our strength; to familiarize the people with what we aim at; to dissipate the apprehension which important innovations generally produce, and to provoke the resentment of Congress, with a view

* Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. III., p. 227.

to stimulate that body into some invidious political act which might excite the passions of the people; these are the motives which influence me, and on which I rely for my justification."

Wilkinson's solicitude for the measure at length became so apparent, that it excited the suspicions of the people. But, judicious in selection of his agents—adroit in pushing others forward, while he, the arch mover, concealed himself behind the screen of secrecy, corresponding monthly with the Spanish authorities, and forwarding volumes of plans and information respecting affairs, not only in Kentucky, but throughout the United States, he presents an unparalleled success in the art of traitorous diplomacy.

General Morgan was now actually in league with the Spanish authorities. He had accepted his grant; had surveyed the land, and laid out the town of New Madrid. It was a princely donation, extending from the mouth of the St. Francis to point *Cinque Hommes*, embracing from twelve to fifteen million of acres. Already had fifty adventurous settlers planted themselves in this garden of the Western wilderness. But the settlement presented a serious impediment to Wilkinson's progress. It was too near the scene of his own operations not to become familiar with his intrigues; besides, it was known that the town had been purposely established to intercept descending trade, for which reason it had been declared a free port of entry. "Probably," says Wilkinson to Miro,* "it will destroy the noble fabric of

* Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. III., p. 244.

which we have laid out the foundation, and which we are endeavoring to complete."

"I am informed," he continues, "that Morgan intends visiting you as soon as he shall have finished the survey of the lands conceded to him. Permit me to supplicate you, my esteemed friends, not to give him any knowledge of my plans, sentiments, or designs. It is long since he has become jealous of me; and you may rest assured that, in reality, he is not well affected toward our cause, but that he allows himself to be entirely ruled by motives of the vilest self-interest, and, therefore, that he will not scruple on his return to destroy me."

That Morgan was prompted by the incentive with which he had been charged, Miro did not feel disposed to question. Men were only to be influenced in such an undertaking by the strongest considerations of private advantage. In fact, it was to that interest only he appealed, and by it alone he could hope for success. But, emanating from such a source, it was Satan reproving sin. Himself a soldier and officer of the Revolution, who had passed successfully through many a scene of doubtful conflict; who, at the sacrifice of his private fortune, and at the imminent peril of his life, had aided in effecting the independence of that country he now secretly conspired against; who had received her honors, her confidence, and her gratitude;—was not he himself now seeking, for Spanish influence and Spanish gold, to tear down the noble fabric he had helped to rear, and transfer to Spanish despotism those liberties for which so gallantly he had fought? "It is not necessary," says

Wilkinson to Gardoquï,* "to suggest to a gentleman of your experience and knowledge that man throughout the world is governed by private interest, however variously modified it may be. Some men are avaricious, some are vain, some are ambitious. To detect the predominant passion,—to lay hold, and to make the most of it,—is the most profound secret of political science."

Wilkinson's object was too transparent not to be detected by the penetration of Miro. "Some men are avaricious, some are vain, some ambitious." Wilkinson, he knew, combined the whole. "Hundreds," says he in a subsequent letter,† "have applied to me on this subject who are determined to follow my example; and I do not deceive myself, nor do I deceive you, sir, when I affirm that it is in my power to lead a large body of the most opulent and most respectable of my fellow-citizens whither I shall go myself at their head; and I flatter myself that, after the dangers I have run, and the sacrifices which I have made—after having put my honor and my life in your hands—you can have no doubt of my favorable disposition toward the interests of his Catholic Majesty, so long as my poor services may be necessary."

"After having read these remarks, you will be surprised at being informed that, lately, I have, jointly with several gentlemen of this country, applied to Don Diego Gardoqui for a concession of land, in order to form a settlement on the Yazoo. The motive of this

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*1 Jan'y, 1789; Gayarre, Vol. III, p. 247.

†Gayarre, Vol. III, p. 233, Feb. 12, 1789.

application is to provide a place of refuge for myself and my adherents, in case it should become necessary for us to retire from this country in order to avoid the resentment of Congress."

In the meantime, the attention of the representatives of the British Government had been attracted toward the intrigues of the Spanish authorities with some of the more influential citizens of the West. It had been currently reported, that a severance from the Union had been determined on, and that the people were ready to throw themselves into the arms of any power which would protect them from Indian hostilities, and guarantee the free navigation of the Mississippi.

A Doctor Connally was deputed by Dorchester, Governor of Canada, to visit Kentucky and ascertain the disposition of the people. He arrived at Louisville in the month of October, 1788, having traveled through the wilderness from Detroit to the Great Miami, and thence down the Ohio. He gave attentive audience to the numerous complaints of the citizens, and suggested a plan by which they could relieve themselves from the embarrassments which the neglect of Congress had thrown around them. Great Britain, he asserted, was desirous to assist American settlers in their claim to the free navigation of the river. She would join them, with zeal, to open up this avenue of trade, and wrest from the Spanish Crown the Territory of Louisiana. Although the forces in Canada were too few to allow of any diminution of their number, yet Dorchester stood ready to supply the implements of war, and would equip ten thousand men with money, provisions and clothing.

As soon as the plan of action should be agreed upon, these articles would be forwarded from Detroit, through Lake Erie, to the Miami, and thence to the Wabash, to be transported to any point on the Ohio where the necessities of the case might require. A fleet of light vessels would be ready at Jamaica, to take possession of the Balize, simultaneously with an attack to be made by the upper settlements. He desired to raise two regiments in Kentucky, and was authorized by Dorchester to confer rewards and honors on the men of influence who might desire to join him. Officers of the late Continental army who would take command, should rank the same in grade with the officers of Great Britain.*

The proposition of Connally met with little encouragement. Dorchester had incited the hostilities of Indians against the Government of the United States, and the inhabitants of the West had been the chief sufferers. Their desolated homes were yet draped in mourning for the victims of savage barbarity. Their wounds were too fresh, and their resentment too implacable, easily to forget the sanguinary authors of their sorrow, or to forgive their not less cruel abettors. Wilkinson had heard of Connally's arrival, and wrote him, requesting an interview. His object was to penetrate his designs, that they might be communicated to the Spanish Governor. Connally was unsuspecting, and revealed his plans without reserve. Wilkinson listened attentively, and was surprised at the boldness of his measures and the extent of his ambition. Great Britain was not

* Marshall's History of Kentucky, Vol. I, p. 348.

only contemplating a recovery of her American possessions, lost to her at the conventions of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle, but, also, the extension of their limits to the Gulf of Mexico. His own interests were not less involved in the scheme than those of Spain; for with the loss of Spanish empire followed the loss, to him, of Spanish favor and contemplated fortune. It was important to check the enterprise; but it was equally important to avoid suspicion, and give no offence to Connally. He desired to impress him with the implacability of private resentment, and the impossibility of an English alliance. The manner of its accomplishment is communicated to Miro in his letter of the 12th of February, 1789.*

"In order to justify this opinion of mine, and to induce him to go back, I employed a hunter, who feigned attempting his life. The pretext assumed by the hunter was the avenging of the death of his son, murdered by the Indians at the supposed instigation of the English. As I hold the commission of a civil judge, it was, of course, to be my duty to protect him against the pretended murderer, whom I caused to be arrested and held in custody. I availed myself of this circumstance to communicate to Connally my fear of not being able to answer for the security of his person, and I expressed my doubts whether he could escape with his life. It alarmed him so much, that he begged me to give him an escort to conduct him out of our territory, which I readily assented to; and on the 20th of Novem-

* Gayarre Vol. III.. p. 287

ber he re-crossed the Ohio on his way back to Detroit. I did not dismiss him without having previously impressed upon him the propriety of informing me, in as short a time as possible, of the ultimate designs of Lord Dorchester."

To induce emigration and trade, the Spanish Government, contrary to the remonstrances of Wilkinson, finally consented that the products of the upper country might pass through the Mississippi on the payment of a duty of fifteen per cent. This, as he had foretold, operated to retard the progress of his plans. With the prospect of a ready market, labor resumed its wonted activity, and the murmurs of the people were silenced. Lands rose rapidly in value, wages were increased, and the pursuits of agriculture promised an adequate return for the capital employed. Apprehensive of having it perish on their hands, they had heretofore been deterred from raising more than the consumption of the immediate neighborhood demanded; "but now," said Wilkinson,* "they have no longer any such fears, on account of the ready outlet they find, at New Orleans, for the fruits of their labor."

Other circumstances, too, were rapidly combining to allay the public discontent. As a measure of policy, the President had distributed a few of the public offices among those who were regarded as disaffected toward the Government, and whose loyalty might be purchased as readily by the bestowal of executive favor as by the tempting promises of Spanish gold. "On my arrival

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*Gayarre, Vol. III., p. 277.

here," writes Wilkinson to Miro,* "I discovered a great change in those who had been so far our warmest friends. Many who loudly repudiated all connection with the Union, now remain silent. I attribute this to the hope of promotion, or to the fear of punishment. According to my prognostic, Washington has begun to operate on the chief heads of this district. Innis has been appointed a Federal Judge, with an annual salary of one thousand dollars; George Nicholas, District Attorney; Samuel McDowel, son of the President of the Convention, and Marshall, to offices somewhat resembling that of Alguazil Mayor; and Peyton Short, the brother of our chargé d'affaires at Versailles, is made a Custom-house officer; but he has resigned, and will probably visit you next spring. I do not place much reliance on George Nicholas and Samuel McDowel. But I know Harry Innis is favorable to Spain and hostile to Congress, and I am authorized to say, that he would prefer receiving a pension from New Orleans than from New York. Should the king approve our design, on this point, it will have to be broached with much delicacy, caution and judgment." He adds: "I fear that we can rely on a few only of my countrymen, if we can not make use of liberal donations."

But Wilkinson's apprehensions began now to be excited for his own safety. If he was to be thus abandoned by his associates, and his plans defeated by the admission of Kentucky into the Union, some provision was necessary by which to escape the odium of defeat.

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*26th January, 1790. Gayarre, Vol. III, p. 278.

The monopoly of the upper trade had been swept from his grasp by the last act of the Court at Madrid. It had placed on terms of equality all who possessed the capital and energy to compete for the patronage of the Spanish Government. Scores of boats, laden with the products of the country, were pouring their commerce into the lap of New Orleans. The new Constitution proved much more popular than was generally anticipated, and was, day by day, increasing in favor with the people. Washington, too, the illustrious commander in the Revolution, was now the chosen chief of the Union, and his selection had inspired a spirit of loyalty which it was difficult, nay, dangerous to tamper with. Already had Wilkinson been marked as a traitor, and spies were vigilant in seeking the evidences of his intrigue. "My situation," says he,* "is mortally painful; because, while I abhor duplicity, I am obliged to dissemble. This makes me extremely desirous of resorting to some contrivance that will put me in a position in which I flatter myself to be able to profess myself publicly the vassal of his Catholic Majesty, and, therefore, to claim his protection in whatever public or private measures I may devise to promote the interest of the Crown." "You may rest assured," he adds, "that the constant persecutions of Congress can not produce the slightest impression on my attachment and zeal for the interests of Spain, *which I shall always be ready* to defend *with my tongue, my pen and my sword.*"

It would be presumed that Miro would gladly have

* Gayarre, Vol. III. p. 280.

assented to the proposition, and suggested the "contrivance" by which to have secured him "a vassal of Spain," but the Spanish Governor knew too well that Wilkinson's power to subserve his Majesty's interest, lay in his connection with the people of Kentucky, and his intimate knowledge of the affairs of the Federal Government. For were it once understood he had become a subject of Spain, he would, of necessity, be excluded from participation in their affairs, and his influence lost to the interest of Louisiana.

"I much regret," replied Miro,* "that General Washington and Congress suspect your connection with me, but it does not appear to me opportune that you declare yourself a Spaniard, for the reason which you state. I am of opinion that this idea of yours is not convenient, and that, on the contrary, it might have prejudicial results. Therefore, continue to dissemble, and to work as you promise, and as I have above indicated.

Miro now began to feel gloomy forebodings of the result. Wilkinson's late communication had dampened his hopes, and rendered him suspicious even of the General himself. He was either the victim of punic faith, or his American emissary had been himself deceived. Yet he was reluctant to believe that Wilkinson, although willing to become a traitor to the Union, could also prove a traitor to Spain. Perhaps an over-weening confidence had induced him to promise what he never could perform. It might be that, full of zeal, and persuaded, from the experience of the past, that he could bring

* Gayarre, Vol. III, p. 284.

round to his own opinions the chief men of Kentucky, he had declared in anticipation that he had won over many of them. But still, it was a fact, that he had never once approached them on the main question, and now that encountering invincible obstacles and, above all, personal risks, it might be his desire to avail himself of the motive set forth in his letter to cover his precipitation.

"Nevertheless," said Miro, "I am of the opinion that said Brigadier-General ought to be retained in the service of his Majesty, *with an annual pension of two thousand dollars, which I have already proposed in my confidential dispatch, No.* 46,* because the inhabitants of Kentucky, and of the other establishments on the Ohio, will not be able to undertake any thing against this province without his communicating it to us, and without his making, at the same time, all possible efforts to drive them from any bad designs against us, as he has already done recently. Miro concludes, by recommending that a pension be granted to Sebastian, "*because I think it proper,*" said he, "*to treat with this individual who will be able to enlighten me on the conduct of Wilkinson, and on what we have to expect from the plans of the said Brigadier-General.*"

We have at length arrived at a point in the history of this intrigue which renders it unnecessary to pursue it further. The key is disclosed which unlocks the door of mystery, and reveals other truths which for half a century have been enveloped in darkness and in doubt; *Wilkinson pensioned to guard the interests of Spain, and Sebastian to betray his confederate Wilkinson.*

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* Gayarre, Vol. III, p. 286.

Time rolled on. Kentucky had been admitted into the Union, as an independent State. Wilkinson bore the commission of a Lieutenant-Colonel, signed by George Washington, and was in actual command of the American forces. The announcement of his appointment spread consternation among his enemies, and elated his confederates. The question was repeatedly asked, "By whom was he recommended?" "By myself," replied Col. Marshall, who had been his most formidable opponent. He considered Wilkinson, he said, well qualified for the commission he bore; that while he remained unemployed by Government, he regarded him as dangerous to the tranquillity of Kentucky, perhaps to her absolute safety. If his commission did not secure his fidelity, it would place him under control, in the midst of faithful officers, whose vigilance would make him harmless, if it did not make him honest. Wilkinson would not be permitted to command the army while there existed a doubt of his integrity, and General Washington remained as President of the Republic. At all events, he could see no good reason for not putting the lion in the toils which he himself had solicited.*

Although the admission of Kentucky into the Union for a time silenced the complaints of the people, yet it failed to restore a unity of sentiment and concert of action. The navigation of the Mississippi was still the subject of discord, not only between the authorities of Louisiana, and the western inhabitants of the States, but also between the mother country and the American Repub-

* Marshall's History of Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 391

lic. Negotiations had been protracted, misunderstandings had ensued, and an imbittered diplomatic controversy threatened a collision of arms between the contending countries. Miro, after a service of twenty years, had been recalled to Spain, at his own request, and the government of the province committed to the Baron de Carondolet. Louis Sixteenth had perished on the scaffold, and Charles the Third, as the avenger of his death, had declared war against his ruthless executioners. The astounding news of the French Revolution had crossed the Atlantic and penetrated the forests of the western hemisphere. It gave new hopes to the friends of freedom in Europe, and fresh impetus to the cause of liberty throughout the civilized world.

Genet, the representative of the French Republic, had not been a disinterested spectator of the intrigues of Spain. His mind involuntarily reverted to that unfortunate day when the King of France, grown disgusted with a possession which, for more than half a century, had been the cause of heavy expense, without giving even a faint promise of adequate compensation in the future, ceded to his cousin the King of Spain, without any remuneration whatever, but merely from the pure impulses of his generous heart, and from a sense of the affection and friendship which existed between them, all the country known under the name of Louisiana; thus, by one stroke of the pen, stripping France "of those boundless possessions which she had acquired at the cost of so much heroic blood and so much treasure, and which extended in one proud, uninterrupted line from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi;

the adventurous and much-enduring population which had settled there, and had overcome so many perils, under the flag of France, coldly delivered over to the yoke of foreign masters." He heard yet the prayerful remonstrance of the citizens of New Orleans against the impolitic and ungrateful usurpation. In a retrospect of the past he saw the venerable Bienville, with a body bent by the infirmities of eighty-six years, yet with his intellectual faculties unimpaired, with the tears gushing from his eyes, prostrate before the Duke de Choiseul, in humble supplication, pleading the cause of that country for whose welfare and prosperity he had spent a life of toil and self-denial. "Was France now to give up the last inch of that territory which he had acquired for her at the cost of so many perils, and so much endurance? Was it for the Spaniards he had called New Orleans into life? Were the Louisianians; were the numerous members of his own family, whose homes he had selected in the cradle of his future fame; were his many friends and the old companions of his labors, to be no longer his countrymen?"* He recalled also the indignation of those Acadians who, under the humiliating treaty between England and France, had been thrust out by British force from their quiet and happy habitations, where

"Blemidon rose, and the forests of old, and
Aloft on the mountains

* Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. II, p. 129.

Sea-fogs pitched their tents, and mists
From the mighty Atlantic
Looked on the happy valley,"

and who had,

"Friendless, homeless, hopeless, wandered from
City to city;
From the cold lakes of the North to
Sultry savannas;
From the bleak shores of the sea, to the land
Where the Father of Waters
Seizes the hills in his hands, and
Drags them down to the ocean."

How they wept on the receipt of the intelligence that they were again transferred to a foreign power against their consent and without their knowledge; how Lafrènière and his followers had defied the authorities of Spain, and declared never to acknowledge any dominion but that of their own beloved France; how they took possession of the government, and were only subdued by the appearance at the Balize of a Spanish Armada under the renowned O'Reiley. He had reason for believing that a remnant of that feeling still existed among the French settlers in Louisiana; and although years had elapsed, and most, if not all, who had been the actors in those scenes had passed away, yet it was believed that their recollections were still green by tradition, and their descendants still cherished an affection for the land of their forefathers; and now that France had become the champion of free governments and republican liberty, more than ever would they long for her dominion, or seek her protection in any effort they

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might make to secure a like government for themselves.

Genet, therefore, set himself privately to work to effect a revolution in Louisiana; hoping, with the aid of the western settlers, to establish an independent government under the protection of France. At his instance, Jacobin clubs were formed in many of the principal cities of the United States, which were to be the active agencies for effecting this purpose. The society at Philadelphia, in the beginning of the year 1794, had caused to be printed and circulated an address from the freemen of France to their brothers in Louisiana. In this they declared that the moment had arrived when despotism must disappear from the earth; that France, having obtained her freedom, and constituted herself into a Republic, after having made known to mankind their rights, after having achieved the most glorious victories over her enemies, was not satisfied with success, by which she alone would profit, but declared to all nations that she was ready to give her powerful assistance to those that might desire to follow her example; that the French nation, knowing their sentiments, and indignant at seeing them the victims of the tyrants by whom they had been so long oppressed, could and would avenge their wrongs. "Now is the time," continues the address, "to cease being slaves of a government to which you were shamefully sold, and no longer to be led on, like a herd of cattle, by men who, with one word, can strip you of what you hold most dear—liberty and property."

Recapitulating a long catalogue of grievances to

which their brothers had been subjected, they say: "You quiver, no doubt, with indignation. You feel in your hearts the desire of deserving the honorable appellation of freemen; but the fear of not having assistance, and of failing in your attempt, deadens your zeal. Dismiss your apprehensions; and know ye that your brethren, the French, who have attacked with success the Spanish Government in Europe, will in a short time present themselves on your coast with naval forces; that the republicans of the western portion of the United States are ready to come down the Ohio and Mississippi, in company with a considerable number of French republicans, and to rush to your assistance, under the banners of France and Liberty, and that you have every assurance of success. Therefore, inhabitants of Louisiana, show who you are; prove that you have not been stupefied by despotism, and that you have retained in your breasts French valor and intrepidity. Demonstrate that you are worthy of being free and independent, because we do not solicit you to unite yourselves with us, but to seek your own freedom. When you shall have the sole control of your own actions, you will be able to adopt a republican constitution, and, being assisted by France, as long as your weakness will not permit you to protect or defend yourselves, it will be in your power to unite voluntarily with her and your neighbors, the United States, forming with these two Republics an alliance which will be the liberal basis on which, henceforth, shall stand our mutual political and commercial interests. Your country will derive the greatest advantages from so auspicious a revolution;

and the glory with which you will cover yourselves, will equal the prosperity which you will secure for the country and for posterity. Away with pusillanimity; *Ca ira! ca ira!* audaces fortuna juvat."

Genet also dispatched Lachaise and Michaux to Kentucky, to organize a force which was to descend the Mississippi to New Orleans, and act in concert with the French inhabitants. The time of their arrival in the country was peculiarly propitious. They found the people divided in political sentiment, but all insisting on free navigation. Jacobin clubs were organized, and inflammatory appeals were issued, setting forth the grievous burthens under which they continued to labor. Too long, they asserted, had the citizens of the West placed implicit dependence on the impartiality and virtue of the General Government. Patient under the ungenerous local policy by which that government had been uniformly actuated; patient under the delays which it had feigned, and the obstacles which it had opposed to the procurement of their rights; patient under the forever-to-be-detested attempt to barter away that right; they had hitherto submitted to the oppressive exactions of the jealous Spaniards, and had not even raised their faltering voices to say to the arbiters of their fate: "You have done amiss." "Awake," they exclaimed, "from your lethargy! think and act for yourselves. Let the example of FRANCE and her glorious success animate you in the pursuit of those advantages which nature has bestowed upon your country."

General George Rogers Clark, a man of distinguished military merit, then a prominent citizen of Kentucky,

had been commissioned, by Genet, a Major-General in the French Revolutionary Legions on the Mississippi, with power to name and commission other officers, and to raise a military force for the reduction of the Spanish posts on that river; to open its trade, and give Freedom to its inhabitants.

All persons serving the expedition were to receive one thousand acres of land; those engaging for one year, two thousand; and an enlistment of two years, or during the war with France, three thousand acres. Officers were to receive in proportion to other French troops; lawful plunder was to be equally divided according to the customs of war, and every precaution taken to secure the safe return of those who might wish to quit the service. France was to supply the munitions of war, and commissions to grade according to the number that each could bring into the service.

Genet had also sent his emissaries to other States in the South and West, who had been successful in stimulating a spirit of adventure among many of the inhabitants. In Tennessee, and on the frontiers of Georgia, it was reported that large forces were being assembled, who, it was expected, would act in concert with the Creek warriors, in a descent upon the Spanish dominions.

Thus, through the energy of the French plenipotentiary, had a formidable expedition been set on foot for the subjugation of Louisiana, with the declared purpose of revolutionizing her institutions, and rendering her an independent Republic, with Genet as its recognized head.

Of this new enterprise against the interests of Spain, Wilkinson and his adherents were silent, but not careless,

observers. Although then holding the commission of a lieutenant-colonel in the army of the United States, and, as was surmised, a secret pensioner of his Catholic Majesty, he neither openly encouraged nor publicly condemned the contemplated expedition. The terms of the address, the grievances enumerated, and the measures of relief proposed, were almost in the exact language with which it had been his custom to inflame the people, except the new idea of wresting from Spain her possessions in Louisiana.

In the mean time, rumors of the projected design having reached the ears of the President, General Washington issued his instructions to Generals Wayne and St. Clair, as also the Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, commanding them immediately to suppress any movement having for its aim any attack against the Spanish dominions. The reply of the latter caused the executive and his cabinet much concern. They feared that Shelby himself had either given in his adhesion to the cause, or was privately disposed to countenance its execution.

The great sympathy which was manifested for the friends of liberty in France—a deep sense of gratitude for her generous aid in the American Revolution, together with a lawless spirit of adventure in many of the more restless and discontented leaders of the country, rendered the extent of Genet's influence among the people a matter of painful uncertainty to the President. He felt his situation to be one of embarrassment. While he conceived it to be the true policy of the Government to observe a strict neutrality between the contending powers of Europe, there was, nevertheless, a large party, with powerful

leaders at their head, who differed from him in opinion, and who openly declared their sympathy for the masses contending against despotism in the old world. Again, it was a fact, that having successfully thrown off the authority of Great Britain, many were impatient of restraint, and yielded, at most, a reluctant obedience to the power of the new Government. Yet, while these symptoms of revolt were manifesting themselves in several parts of the country, and seemed to threaten the stability and security of the Union, they stimulated Washington to stricter vigilance and more decisive action. He feared the influence of Genet's rash and revolutionary design, condemned his interference with the peaceful relations of the United States, and demanded his recall. Anxious to harmonize the interests of every section of the confederacy, he considered that amicable relations with European powers were indispensable to the prosperity, if not to the existence, of the Union itself. General Wayne was therefore ordered to repair immediately to Massac, on the Ohio, to construct a military fort and intercept any descending force hostile to Louisiana.

These and other effective measures on the part of the executive, together with the condemnation and recall of the French minister, served to disband the enterprise, and, for a time, restore tranquillity to the country. Thus were the citizens of the West, for a period of several years, kept in constant agitation by the intrigues of foreign powers, aided by the disaffection of a few ambitious spirits, who, for personal aggrandizement, were willing to sacrifice their own integrity, and their country's welfare.

CHAPTER VI.

EIGHT years had already elapsed since Blennerhassett had made the island his residence. The flowers and shrubbery planted by his hands had now sprung up in luxuriant perfection, and regaled the senses with their fragrance. The products of his husbandry secured at least a comfortable supply of all the necessaries of life, and more than this would have been superfluous. The independence of his situation enabled him to procure any or all of the delicacies which a more epicurean taste might have desired; but these had been resigned, with the pomp and glitter of his former station. Around him he viewed a contented family, rejoicing in the buoyancy of health, and with the sprightliness of youthful vivacity. The returning seasons brought with them returning pleasures. New scenes of interest, new engagements, and wider fields of usefulness, daily presented themselves to his awakening impulses; but, in the midst of all this peace and cheerfulness—this "constant sunshine of the soul"—a dark and portentous cloud gathered in the horizon of his effulgent future, destined soon to burst with sad fatality upon the unsuspecting circle of his household.

In the spring of 1805, Aaron Burr, late Vice-President of the United States, after the closing of the session of

Congress, set out on a journey through the Western States. The object of this tour, although never definitively declared, was doubtless three-fold:

First. To ascertain the sentiments of the people of the West upon the subject of a separation from the Atlantic States.

Secondly. To enlist recruits, and make arrangements for a private expedition against Mexico and the Spanish provinces, in the event of a war between the United States and Spain, which at that time seemed inevitable.

Thirdly. In the event of a failure of both of these measures, to purchase a tract of land of Baron Bastrop, lying in the Territory of Louisiana, on the Washita river. Upon this, he contemplated the establishment of a colony of intelligent and wealthy individuals, where he might rear around him a society remarkable for its refinement in civil and social life. That each of these stupendous enterprises was determined on, is clearly inferable from the evidence afterward adduced against him.

With a mind tortured by remorse for the unfortunate duel with Hamilton, sickened by disappointment in political preferment, disgusted with the more pacific measures of Jefferson, he could only direct his thoughts in scenes of outward conflict, and bury the disquietudes which were tearing his soul, by plunging into deeds of wonderful magnitude.

Knowing full well the advantages which wealth and influence would add to either undertaking, he sought first to secure the co-operation of the most conspicuous characters of the country. Blennerhassett was a shining treasure, too valuable to remain unnoticed—a gentleman

of opulence and ease, possessing a mind of superior scientific acquirements; and who, from the discontents of his own country, it would readily be presumed, was well acquainted with military tactics; such a personage would indeed prove a powerful auxiliary in any measure he had proposed to himself. Burr, accordingly, landed at the island, and, in company with a Mr. Shaw, strolled over this far-famed paradise. The family were absent from home on a visit to the East. Having partaken of the hospitality of those left in charge, Burr re-embarked on board of his boat, and proceeded down the river to view the country and hold conferences with the inhabitants at various points.

General Wilkinson, who commanded the western forces, was, at that time, temporarily at Fort Massac, near the mouth of the Ohio. As a previous correspondence had been held between them, which had brought them into intimate relations, Burr wished to ascertain with what confidence he could rely on the aid of that officer and his men, in the event of an expedition to Mexico. The result of that interview has never been definitely ascertained; it was strongly suspected, however, that Wilkinson assured him of his support. Here, the Ex-Vice-President was furnished by the General with an elegant barge, sails, colors, and ten oars, with a sergeant and ten able hands to prosecute his journey.

About this time, Blennerhassett, having received intelligence of the arrival in New York of his classmate and friend, the celebrated Thomas Addis Emmett,* who had

* There were three Emmetts, sons of Dr. Emmett, who had been State-physician at Dublin, and was an extreme liberal in his political opinions.

been compelled to flee his country by reason of serious political difficulties, hastened to meet him. The feelings of the exiles, as they again clasped hands on the western borders of the Atlantic, can only be fully appreciated by those who have experienced similar vicissitudes. Here he found one with whom he could freely sympathize, and who, in return, could as freely sympathize with him. Often, in early life, had they sported together over the same green meadows, and participated in the same amusements. And when, at a more advanced age, they had been honorable competitors for academic honors, no selfish ambition had served to loose the bonds which early childhood welded, although the contest was never so spirited, or the prize was never so dazzling. Still later in life, they had deplored together the fate of their country; had witnessed her deep degradation, and sighed over the hopeless prospects which were shadowed in the distant future. After several weeks spent with his friend, during which time he renewed his former acquaintance in the city, he returned to his family on the island.

But a short time previous, a young man by the name of Harte, the son of an acquaintance in Ireland, having

Temple, the eldest, who distinguished himself in the university and at the bar, died at the age of thirty. Thomas Addis, born in 1764, also became a barrister, got involved in the revolt of 1798, was allowed to expatriate himself, arrived at New York in 1804, where he was *at once* admitted to practice (by special dispensation, although opposed, Phillips says, by Chancellor Kent), became attorney-general of New York in 1812, and died in 1827, greatly respected and lamented. Robert, who was only twenty-three years old, joined in the insurrection of 1808; was tried, condemned and executed—lamented even by multitudes who disliked his politics. Robert Emmett's defense, as it is called, though actually spoken *after* his condemnation, when called on to receive judgment, is one of the most touching specimens of eloquence ever uttered.—*Mackenzie.*

applied to Blennerhassett for pecuniary aid, presented a letter of introduction, purporting to have been written by his father. His address was that of a gentleman, and the respectability of his family connection precluded any doubt as to the truthfulness of his representations. Previous to his departure from England, he said, he had taken the precaution to obtain drafts in London, on a house in Boston, for the sum of one thousand pounds; that on his arrival in the United States he found the house to be fictitious; that as this was his sole reliance he had been left entirely destitute of funds. He thought that he should not be chargeable with carelessness, as he had previously advised with Sir Owen Hunt, who had assured him that the gentleman with whom he dealt was a man of strict integrity. The story was a plausible one, and Blennerhassett, desirous of performing an act of charity toward the young gentleman, furnished him with letters of credit and introduction to many of his influential acquaintances, among which was one to Colonel Burr, and another to the Hon. James Brown, a brother-in-law of the colonel. From the various sources to whom he had been accredited, Harte obtained large sums of money, and fled to Canada. It subsequently appeared that he had forged the letter of introduction to Blennerhassett, and, at the time of his appearance at the island, was an exile from his father's house for similar practices in England. On being advised of the facts by Mr. Brown, Blennerhassett addressed him the following reply:

WOOD COURT-HOUSE, VA.,
December 9th, 1805.

JAMES BROWN, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR:—On my arrival home yesterday evening, I received your two letters of the 13th and 18th August last, which have laid at the office here, I know not how long. By them I fear you have no effects of Harte's in your possession, as you do not mention the horses I understood, by Mr. Shaw, he left with you, which, with the presumption I had requested you to indorse his drafts to an amount not exceeding a thousand or twelve hundred dollars, induced me, as I wrote you November 7th, from New York, to risk the return of one of the drafts you indorsed for one thousand dollars. But your letters received here, have caused me the utmost concern, lest I should not be in time by to-morrow's post to advise Mr. Morton, as Mr. Clay has suggested, to arrest the draft before its return upon you, though I am persuaded my protegè has altered my figures, which, indeed, would make no difference to your disadvantage, if he had done so to the last dollar I am worth. Be the effect, therefore, what it may upon my property, your time and ingenuity might have been better spent than in justifying the steps you had taken to accommodate Mr. Harte upon my recommendation.

I will only add, I shall take my chance of whatever indemnity you can procure for me, by an attachment of any property within your reach. That Harte still is the son of the man I expected, I have a letter from his father acknowledging, but declaratory of his having fully dis-

carded him, long ago, and affording me no prospect of retribution.

I should hope the pleasing intelligence I have frequently had of Mr. John Clay's present good circumstances, may permit me to anticipate he will settle with me for the sale he made of a negro woman of mine, in Kentucky, through you.

The hints you have given of the predilection you entertain for your last chosen meridian, have kindled in our minds a fire of enthusiastic curiosity, which our present embarrassments will constantly fan, until your details shall extinguish it with a faithful muster of the fogs and musquitoes of the Mississippi.

But in sober sadness, I wish to learn with what capital, or in what speculation or profession, I could enjoy your neighborhood, when I can bid adieu to the spot on which I have so long hoped I should rest my bones forever. I am inclined to hope my highly-valued friend, Woodbridge,* would accompany me, if he could see any mercantile prospects more inviting than this country affords. I have no doubt your friendship will find a moment of repose in your present cares of fame and fortune, in which I highly rejoice, to gratify my expectation in this respect.

Since I find you give us such just credit for the sentiments with which Mrs. Brown and yourself have inspired us, I will offer no repetition of them—only a more possible prospect of personally testifying them, you may be sure, makes them more vivid, even in the abandonment

* The mercantile partner of Blennerhassett.

of books and science, to which, I fear, the state of my affairs will henceforth, I know not how long, condemn me.

Farewell! dear Brown, and believe me always to be

Your attached friend,

H. BLENNERHASSETT.

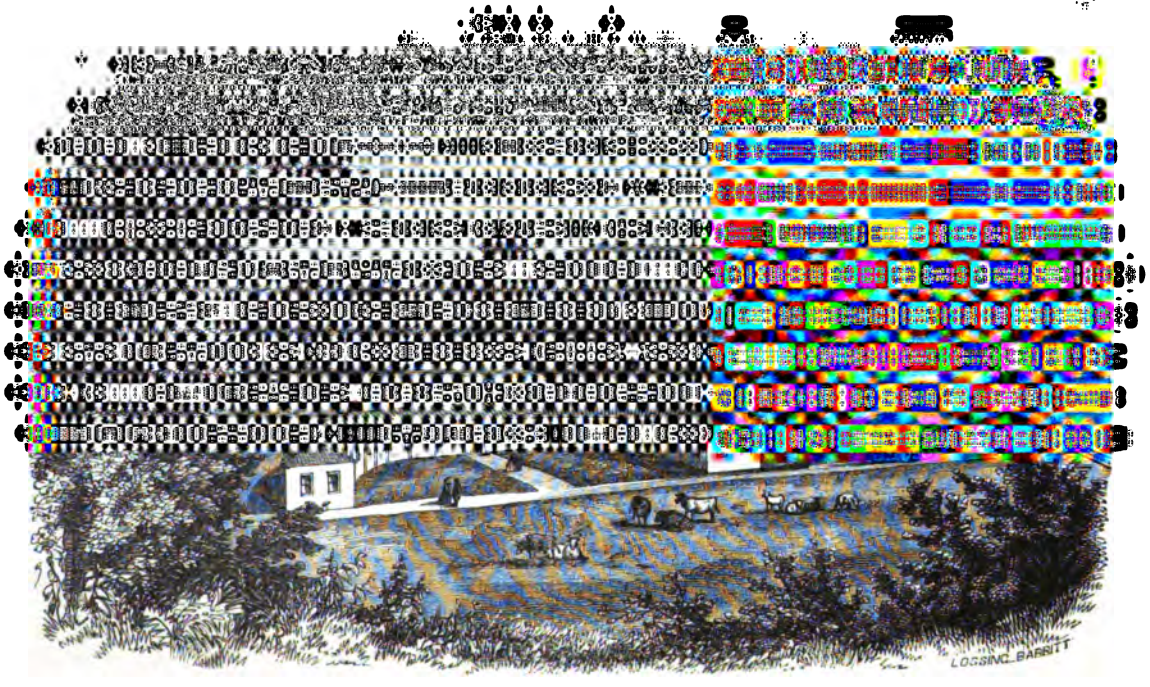
On the 15th of December, 1805, he dispatched the following letter to General Devereux: *

MY DEAR DEVEREUX:

Sensible for your kind concern for us, I use the first opportunity since our return home to acquaint you, that we effected our journey with safety, and had the blessing to find our dear boy recovered, so that nothing threatens henceforward to interfere with our enjoyment of your company when we can obtain it, but unavoidable attention to some embarrassments my circumstances have lately undergone; the effect of which more and more disposes me to endeavor to change my situation, by selling or letting this place to effect a removal to another, where I could embark in mercantile pursuits, or the resumption of my old profession.

Now, not wishing to advertise the place, I know no

* General Devereux was a descendant of one of the most ancient and noted families of Ireland. One of his ancestry drew his sword upon Queen Elizabeth, when she slapped him in the face for his impertinence, and insisted that if she were a man he would dispatch her for the indignity. He finally became reconciled, but was subsequently beheaded for treason. The General was one of the leaders of the United Irishmen in the Rebellion of '96 and 1803, and subsequently made his escape to the United States. He afterward joined Bolivar in the Columbian Revolution, where he greatly distinguished himself by his bravery and military skill. On the emancipation of the South American Republics, he was made Minister to Russia, and, I believe, afterward to the United States.



THE BLENNERHASSETT MANSION.

better means of disposing of it than through the industry of your friendship. I, therefore, request your attention to my views, and the following description of my situation, to enable you to procure such a purchaser or tenant as would suit me, and effect our common happiness by a residence in the same place. Respecting the farm, which, through want of skill and capital, I am unable to make the best advantage of, you may, with the utmost truth and honor, represent it as containing about two hundred acres of the richest land in the world, which, rented out to the poorest of tenants, can, at any time, command a rent of five dollars per acre, payable in corn at the market price in this country; but would prove more lucrative in the hands of a capitalist, with forty or fifty negroes, who would engage in raising hemp or tobacco. These products better afford a rent of twenty-five hundred dollars a year than one thousand in the other way. Such a rent I should expect of such a tenant as I could let the whole to, namely, a gentleman of fortune, disposed to reside in this country, who would find an elegant seat with (a desirable) convenient improvements; no want of which would disturb his care or withdraw his attention for the ease and profit with which he might reside here, whence he might send his tobacco, cordage, cotton or flour, to New Orleans, at the rate of one dollar and a quarter per barrel, where the market will always afford him a medium price, twelve or fifteen per cent. higher than the farmer dependent on the Atlantic towns can have, without taking into consideration the excess of western produce.

If a purchase should be preferred, I could not in justice to my family sell at less than twenty-five years' credit, on

the above twenty-five hundred dollars, which would be then sinking a serious part of the money I have expended on this place, which may be easily conceived when it is understood the house and offices I occupy, stand me in upward of thirty thousand dollars, not to mention gardens and shrubbery, in the English style—hedges, post-fences, and complete farm-yards, containing barns, stables, overseers' and negroes' houses, etc., etc.; though, for the sake of removing from a place which does not now so well suit myself, I would sacrifice somewhat of the money I have expended.

Any one disposed to treat for the place will be apprised beforehand, by all who have seen it, from the most unobserving passenger, to Mr. Harris, of its good order, richness and elegant situation, opposite the handsome settlement of Belpré, fourteen miles below Marietta, and within view of Wood Court-House in Virginia, in the midst of a country, where the lumber and provision trade, with ship-building, has commenced, and will be established above and below it, from Pittsburgh to the falls of the Ohio.

I would only direct a purchaser's attention to this sketch, which he can easily verify, and the rent required for such an establishment can not be considered high, when compared with what is so unaccountably obtained for a single house in Baltimore. If the style and extent of the house should be demanded, it may be stated as highly and completely finished, containing, with the wings connected to it by circular corridors, thirty-six windows, glazed with lights 12 by 18 inches.

You will not forget to have General Macon, who lives

on an island near Georgetown, and I hear, like myself, prefers an insular situation, informed how commodiously he might accommodate his family, if I have truly heard, he desires to move to the western country, in which case I could take landed property of his below, at a valuation, in exchange, if he would give me my price.

H. BLENNERHASSETT.

Among other letters which he mentions as having accumulated during his absence at the East, was his first communication from Colonel Burr, regretting that the absence of Blennerhassett from home had deprived him of the pleasure of improving his personal acquaintance, when visiting his island residence. In an insinuating but guarded manner, he alluded to the talents of Blennerhassett, as deserving of a higher sphere than that in which they were employed. He was surrounded, to be sure, with all the comforts of life, but those very comforts only served to effeminate the mind, for want of active engagements. His pleasures were merely passive, and were better suited to the negative enjoyment of the rude and unconscious herd, than to those delightful sensations experienced by the intelligent mind when in the active exercise of all its ennobling powers. There were other considerations, too, which should induce him to feel that *physical* effort was necessary. He was surrounded by a growing family, who demanded of him superior advantages over those to be obtained in his new and unpolished neighborhood. His fortune was gradually diminishing, while no effort was made to add to his present estate. The inevitable consequence therefore must be the impov-

erishment of his children by his listless attention to all financial affairs. Suggesting several plans by which Blennerhassett might enhance his fortune, and render himself a more important individual in society, he left him to meditate on the truthfulness of the picture so dexterously set before him.

Such apparently disinterested counsel, from one whose judgment and experience he respected, caused Blennerhassett to turn his attention, more particularly than he had hitherto done, toward himself and his own affairs. The result was all that Burr could have desired. It called forth the suggestions with reference to his removal, in his letter to Brown, and gave rise to the following correspondence:

December 21*st*, 1805.

AARON BURR, ESQ.,

SIR:—The receipt of your letter, by post, has been delayed until my return home from Baltimore. While it enables me to return my acknowledgments for the honor of your kind remembrance, it affords the opportunity of expressing my extreme regret that we were absent at the time of your intended visit. This disappointment can not be removed but by another of like condescension, which may, in some measure, compensate us for the past.

The mention, sir, you have made of the attention you were pleased to give to young Mr. Harte, on my recommendation, would alone make it my duty to apologize for having obtruded upon your notice a man whose acts, as I have heard since he left this, have qualified him for no better situation than that of a jail. But my belief that he was really the son of the gentleman in Europe I took

him for, which turns out to be correct, though he is discarded by his father, and the confidence and credit obtained from me, through a letter from his father, which I supposed authentic, by which I have lost four thousand dollars: these circumstances, sir, your liberality will regard as some ground of excuse for the liberty I had taken with you. I am now about to venture another, on my own account, to which I presume to request an answer at your first convenient leisure.

Estimating the value of your reflections on the view you have taken of the western country, and particularly of Louisiana, I have thought it of great importance to obtain your sentiments to confirm or correct the irresistible attraction my friend, Mr. James Brown, assures me I should follow, to settle in his vicinity, if I would but visit that country. His words are, my "removal would be inevitable"—an expression, truly, strong enough, when viewed through my regard for his friendship, and my confidence in his judgment, to endanger my repose on this island, where for eight years I have dreamed and hoped I should rest my bones forever.

But the interests of a growing family, I feel, will summon me again into active life, to the resumption of my former profession of the bar, mercantile or other enterprise, if I should find an opportunity of selling or letting my establishment here to a gentleman who could, without a sacrifice, give me a price by which I should not lose too much of the money it stands me in, say $50,000; or afford me a rent of $2,500, which, by proper management, it might be made to realize without paying, at the highest rate, half the yearly value of the extensive and

numerous conveniences on the place, with a detail of which I forbear to trouble you, observing, merely, that there is now in good order, say two hundred acres, which, with twenty well-managed hands, employed in raising hemp, would afford a handsome profit. In either way, if I could sell or leave the place, I would move forward with a firmer confidence in any undertaking which your sagacity might open to profit and fame.

Having thus advised you of my desire and motives to pursue a change of life, to engage in any thing which may suit my circumstances, I hope, sir, you will not regard it indelicate in me to observe to you how highly I should be honored in being associated with you, in any contemplated enterprise you would permit me to participate in. The amount of means I could at first come forward with would be small. You might command my services as a lawyer, or in any other way you should suggest as being most useful. I could, I have no doubt, unite the talents and energy of two of my particular friends, who would share in any fortune which might follow you. The gentlemen alluded to are Mr. Dudley Woodbridge, junior, of Marietta, and Mr. Devereux, of Baltimore, a *ci de-vant* general in the Irish rebel army.*

Not presuming to know or guess at the intercourse, if any, subsisting between you and the present Government, but viewing the probability of a rupture with Spain, the claim for action the country will make upon your talents, in the event of an engagement against, or subjugation of, any of the Spanish Territories, I am disposed in the

* Neither of whom, it is proper to remark, could be prevailed upon to enlist in the undertaking.

confidential spirit of this letter to offer you my friends, and my own services to co-operate in any contemplated measures in which you may embark.

In making this proposition, I hope, sir, you will feel that it flows in a conviction of your judgment and talents, from a quarter that ever did and always will prefer to seek fortune and fame through the call, rather than the coercion, of any government.

A further development of my views would at present aggravate the trespass on your time by this letter, too much prolonged, and would besides, I hope, be a guarantee of the perfect confidence you may repose in my integrity in any communication you may be pleased to honor me with.

I shall await with much anxiety the receipt of your reply, and with warm interest in your success and prosperity,

I remain, dear sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

H. BLENNERHASSETT.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

WASHINGTON CITY, *April 15th*, 1806.

DEAR SIR:—Your very interesting letter of the 21st of December, arrived here just after I had passed through this city on my way to South Carolina, and was not received until about two months after its date: the subject of it has since that time been daily in my mind. Independently of considerations personal to myself, I learn with the utmost pleasure that you are to be restored to the social and the active world. Your talents and

acquirements seem to have destined you for something more than vegetable life, and since the first hour of our acquaintance, I have considered your seclusion as a fraud on society.

The confidence you have been pleased to place in me is extremely flattering, and it would seem that there has been, without explanation, a sort of consent between our minds. In a matter of so much moment, and on which I am so imperfectly informed, it would be hazarding too much to offer advice; yet it is due to the frankness of your letter, to acknowledge that I had projected, and still meditate, a speculation, precisely of the character you have described. It would have been submitted to your consideration in October last, if I had then the good fortune to find you at home. The business, however, depends, in some degree, on contingencies, not within my control, and will not be commenced before December or January, if ever. From this circumstance, and as the matter, in its present state, can not be satisfactorily explained by letter, the communication will be deferred until a personal interview can be had. With this view I pray to be informed of your intended movements the ensuing season, and in case you should visit Orleans, at what time, and at what port you may be expected on the Atlantic coast. But I must insist that these intimations be not permitted to interrupt the prosecution of any plans which you have formed for yourself—no occupation which shall not take you off the continent can interfere with that which I may propose. You would certainly be pleased, probably charmed, with the manners and the society of Orleans. As a place of business, too, it offers

great advantages; most of those who style themselves lawyers, are become visionary speculators, or political fanatics. Mr. Brown, by avoiding these follies, has inspired confidence, and is growing rich. The country is deficient in the means of education, and the climate is thought, I believe with reason, unfriendly to children.

We shall have no war unless we should be actually invaded. Some estimate of the views and temper of our Government may be formed from the proceedings of the House of Representatives, with closed doors. A copy of that part of their journal is sent for your amusement.

Accept, dear sir, assurances of the great consideration and respect with which I am,

Yours obediently, A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

BALTIMORE, *May 17th*, 1806.

DEAR SIR:—About the 15th of April, I wrote you from Washington, in answer to your letter of December, apologizing, at the same time, for the lapse of so great a period between the date of your letter and that of my reply. For God's sake, therefore, do n't retaliate on me in this particular. My movements for the summer, as far as can now be ascertained, will be to return to Philadelphia to-morrow, to pass one month (something less) in that vicinity; thence to Bedford, in the mountains of Pennsylvania, where I may remain several weeks, taking excursions to Pittsburgh, Union Town, etc. The mountain part of my project is for the health of my

daughter,* who has just come on from South Carolina, to pass the season with me. I would take her on to your house, if it were not for the extreme inconvenience of re-ascending, especially with the incumbrance of a three-year-old child. With entire respect,

Your friend and obedient servant,

A. BURR.

Address me at Washington *city*. If the "city" be omitted, your letter may go to forty Washingtons without meeting that which is intended. In case of a direct opportunity to Philadelphia, you may address me there, to be left in the "*Post-office.*" The former, however, is the safer mode. A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 24th*, 1806.

DEAR SIR:—Owing to an absence of unexpected duration from this city, your letter of the 23d of May was not received until a few days ago. My daughter has gone on to Bedford. My engagements in this city not permitting me to attend her, I shall follow in a few days, and be at your house before the 20th of August. Let me find you at home, or not far off. I propose to pass two or three days with you. My daughter was charmed with your hospitable and friendly overture, and wished much to avail herself of it. This, however, will not be in her

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* Mrs. Alston, wife of Col. Jos. Alston, Governor of South Carolina.

power till October, the period of my return from Kentucky, when it is probable she may.

I omit, till a personal interview, a further answer to your obliging letter.

Two young gentlemen of respectable connections and character, are on their way down the river, Mr. S. Swartwout,* of New York, and Mr. S. Ogden, of New Jersey. I have desired that they would stop at your door, hand you this, and wait long enough to answer any inquiries you might please to make about Cis-Montane men or things. I pray that they may experience your wonted courtesy

Very respectfully, your friend and faithful servant,

A. BURR.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

BEDFORD, *August 15th*, 1806.

You perceive, my dear sir, that I have made a little progress. I shall leave this to-morrow, but a detention of two or three days at Pittsburgh will not allow me the hope of seeing you at Belpré before the 23d or 24th.

I leave here my daughter and her son, who have both greatly profited by the use of the waters, or, what is perhaps more probable, by the mountain air. She desired much to accompany me to your house, but we have compromised by my consenting that she shall meet me at Belpré on the 1st of October.

With great respect, yours, A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT.

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* Samuel Swartwout, afterward collector of New York.

Some time in the month of August, 1806, Col. Burr, in company with Col. De Pestre* and Dudley Woodridge, Junior, arrived at the island. At this time, as we are informed, Burr, with considerable reserve, partially revealed the objects and plan of the contemplated enterprise. From information received from reliable sources, he was induced to believe that the sentiments of a respectable majority of the people of Orleans and Mississippi Territories were disaffected to the Government; that such was the dissatisfaction of the people, unless early measures were adopted to prevent it, they would fling themselves into the arms of any foreign power which should pledge itself to protect them. In such an event, the Western States would be placed in a dilemma, out of which they could only escape by an eastern or western ascendancy of interests; that after an examination of the subject, so clearly satisfied would they become that their connection with the Atlantic States was inimical to western interests, they would no longer consent to the alliance, but would sever themselves from the Union. So far as he was personally concerned, he had no further interest in the event than of a speculative character. The people, however, should be advised, lest they should be unexpectedly involved in a crisis for which they were unprepared.

The separation of the Western from the Atlantic States, he assured them, was no new project. It was a subject of daily discussion at the seat of Government,

* Burr's confidential agent or minister, who had been sent on a mission to Europe, and was then in negotiation with the representative of the Spanish Court.

and by some of the heads of department; that it was seriously apprehended the mal-administration of the Government might precipitate the event much sooner than it was desired or expected. So thoroughly disgusted were the people of New Orleans with the conduct of the administration, both with reference to themselves, and as to Spanish American affairs, that he expected to hear of their beginning a revolt by seizing on the bank and custom-house and appropriating to themselves the revenues and forces of the Territory. Even then, he declared, there was a society of young men in New Orleans, denominated "The Mexican Society," who had seized and shipped a number of cannons belonging to the French, for a Mexican invasion, and that while there, but a short time previous, he himself had been solicited to become their leader.

With the questions of a war with Spain, and the separation of the Western from the Atlantic States, Burr declared he had no concern; but, in any event, neither would interrupt his enterprise; nor would they be adverse to his own views, let them precede or follow his own undertaking.

He assured Blennerhassett that he was advised as to the views of the Administration; that the expulsion of the Spaniards from the American Territory then violated by them, or even an invasion of Mexico, would be pleasing to Mr. Jefferson, if either could be effected without a declaration of war against Spain, which was now prevented by parsimony on the one hand, and dread of France on the other.

As this interview and its results, somewhat figura-

tively drawn by Mr. Wirt, on the trial at Richmond, have invested the name of Blennerhassett with greater interest than, perhaps, it would have otherwise attained, it is here inserted:

"A shrubbery, which Shenstone might have envied, blooms around him; music that might have charmed Calypso and her nymphs, is his; an extensive library spreads its treasures before him; a philosophical apparatus offers to him all the mysteries and secrets of nature; peace, tranquillity and innocence shed their mingled delights around him; and, to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife who is said to be lovely, even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible, has blessed him with her love, and made him the father of her children. The *evidence* would convince you, that this is only a faint picture of real life. In the midst of all this peace, this innocence, this tranquillity, this feast of mind, this pure banquet of the heart, the destroyer comes: he comes to turn his paradise into a hell; yet the flowers do not wither at his approach, and no monitory shuddering, through the bosom of their unfortunate possessor, warns him of the ruin that is coming upon him. A stranger presents himself. Introduced to their civilities by the high rank he had lately held in his country, he soon finds way to their hearts by the dignity and elegance of his demeanor, the light and beauty of his conversation, and the seductive and fascinating power of his address. The conquest was not a difficult one. Innocence is ever simple and credulous; conscious of no designs itself, it expects none in others; every door and portal of the heart are thrown open, and all who

choose it, enter. Such was the state of Eden when the serpent entered its bowers. The prisoner" (Burr), "in a more engaging form, winding himself into the open and unpractised heart of Blennerhassett, found but little difficulty in changing the native character of that heart, and the objects of its affections. By degrees, he infuses into it the poison of his own ambition; he breathes into it the fire of his own courage; a daring and desperate thirst for glory; an ardor panting for all the storms and bustle and hurricane of life. In a short time, the whole man is changed; and every object of his former delights relinquished. No more he enjoys the tranquil scene; it has become flat and insipid to his taste. His books are abandoned; his retort and crucible thrown aside; his shrubbery blooms and breathes its fragrance upon the air in vain, he likes it not; his ear no longer drinks the melody of music, it longs for the trumpet's clangor and the cannon's roar. Even the prattle of his babes, once so sweet, no longer affects him, and the angel-smile of his wife, who hitherto touched his bosom with ecstasy so unspeakable, is now unfelt for and unseen. Greater objects have taken possession of his soul; his imagination has been dazzled by visions of diadems, and stars, and garters, and titles of nobility; he has been taught to burn, with restless emulation, at the names of Cromwell, Cæsar, and Bonaparte," etc.

Leaving his daughter with Mrs. Blennerhassett, Burr proceeded immediately to recruiting men for the expedition. His mind was now fully determined on the enterprise. Every thing appeared favorable; and what was to prevent the realization of his dreams?

"Far away to the south-west, a thousand miles beyond the Mississippi, lay a vast and wealthy empire, governed by tyrants whom the people hated, and defended by troops whom soldiers should despise. For years, the riches of that kingdom were the theme of travelers. Her mines were inexhaustible, and had flooded Europe with gold. Her nobles enjoyed the revenues of emperors; her capitol was said to be blazoned with jewels. It was known to look down on the lake, into whose waters the unhappy Guatemozin had cast the treasures of that long line of native princes, of which he was the last. Men dreamed of that magnificent city as Aladdin dreamed of his palaces, or Columbus of Cathay. Costly statues; vessels of gold and silver; jewels of untold value; troops of the fairest Indian girls for slaves; all that the eye delighted in, or the heart of man could desire, it was currently declared, would form the plunder of Mexico. A bold adventurer, commanding an army of Anglo-Saxon soldiers, could possess himself of the empire. The times were favorable to the enterprise. The priesthood throughout Mexico was disaffected, and would gladly lend its aid to any conqueror who secured its privileges; and the priesthood then, as now, exercised a paramount influence over the weak and superstitious Mexicans. America, too, was thought to be on the eve of a Spanish war, when the contemplated expedition might easily be fitted out at New Orleans. Burr saw the glittering prize, and resolved to seize it. He would conquer this gorgeous realm, and realize, in this new world, as Napoleon did in the old, a dream of romance.

"He would surround his throne with dukes and mar-

shals, and princes of the empire. The pomp of chivalry, the splendors of the East, should be revived in this court. Realms equally rich, and even more easy of spoil, opened to the South, to whose conquest his successors, if not himself, might aspire. Perhaps nothing would check his victorious banner until he had traversed the continent, and stood on that bold and stormy promontory, where the contending waters of the Atlantic and Pacific lash around Cape Horn."

With that eloquence of expression and power of imagination which were peculiarly his, he infused into the minds of his auditors a thirst, like his own, for the brilliant scenes of Mexico. At Marietta he had an opportunity of meeting with the militia, who were assembled for the purpose of an annual training. Being called upon for that purpose, he exercised the regiment in a few evolutions, by which he demonstrated to the doubting his superior knowledge of military tactics, and capability for commanding. A ball succeeded the training, in the evening. The congregated beauty of the surrounding neighborhood greeted him with their smiles; while the men of rougher mould gave encouragement to his enterprise. Offers of distinction and rank, and the dazzling dreams of wealth, were arguments irresistible to the young and adventurous; and Burr soon found himself surrounded by men impatient for the expedition.

Let it not be presumed that the honest and patriotic spirits of the West for a moment contemplated treachery to their country, or meditated a willful violation of her laws. They who had breasted the storms of adversity, in every conceivable shape; who had scaled the barriers

of the Alleghanies, amid the dangers of Indian warfare; who, for many years, had stood upon the frontier of civilization, and grappled, in deadly conflict, with the enemies of their country and their race; who had pursued the savage to his wigwam and startled him from his mountain fastness; these were men whom impartial history must pronounce incapable of a crime so base, so revolting to the mind of every patriot. But they were deceived, in their over-credulousness, in the statement of Burr, and joined the expedition, under the well-grounded belief that Jefferson favored it; and that, in the event of war, it would be neither illegal nor contrary to the wishes of the government.

CHAPTER VII.

In the month of September, 1806, Burr commenced active preparations for the contemplated expedition. Contracts for fifteen large bateaux, sufficient to convey five hundred men, and a large keel-boat for the transportation of provision, arms, ammunition, etc., also for flour, whisky, corn-meal, and other eatables, were entered into; for the most of which Blennerhassett became responsible. Much of the corn, from which the meal was made, was raised and kiln-dried on the island.

While these operations were being carried forward, Burr visited Chillicothe, then the seat of government of Ohio, and continued his trip to Cincinnati, and thence to Kentucky. The object of this tour was to extend his acquaintance, and add new recruits to his enterprise. Each private was to supply himself with proper arms and clothing, and to receive, as a compensation for his services, one hundred acres of land on the Washita; while officers were to receive according to their grade.

Soon after his departure, Blennerhassett prepared a series of essays which appeared in the *Ohio Gazette*, a newspaper published at Marietta, by Fairlamb, under the signature of *Querist*. These exhibited a general

and relative view, in a political aspect, of the Union and the western country; presenting motives of expediency which should induce a separation from the Atlantic States in a peaceable and constitutional manner. He designed to prepare the minds of his fellow-citizens for a crisis which he believed was sooner or later approaching, not from the motives of Burr, but from the state of affairs then existing on the Mississippi, at which an espousal of eastern or western ascendancy would determine their future prosperity. A second, and perhaps paramount, object was to divert public attention from too close a scrutiny of the plans against Spain, which, if successfully concealed, might be tacitly approved by the Government, and suffered to proceed without serious intervention. I insert but one of these communications, as the whole are too voluminous for the design of this work:

September, 1806.

To the Editor of the Ohio Gazette:

Sir:—Of all the causes that produced our colonial war, which terminated in the establishment of our independence, it has appeared to me that the most operative, if it has ever been fully appreciated by our politicians, has been least insisted upon. Our complaints and our struggles against the mother country, however they have attempted to be bastardized by the blunders of the ignorant or the craft of the designing, had really a commercial and no other parentage. The unbiassed judgment of posterity will no doubt decide that the good people of the colonies, however justly entitled to all the rights they have vindicated, were, nevertheless, in establishing them,

from the beginning to the end, the unconscious instruments of a small party or interest among themselves; namely, the commercial. To prove this truth, the imparted history of our own times will adduce ample evidence, without need of citing our early petitions and remonstrances to Britain, which alone would place it beyond all doubt.

That the colonies then, in effect, took upon them the burden of the war for the advantage of merchants, though the issue of it has produced the greatest benefit to us all, is so far our concern at this day as to induce us to examine the influence of the present commercial interest in the United States at large, and the western country in particular. And this becomes the more necessary, as the present party in power are said, by their adherents, to be political economists of the school of Monsieur Quesnai, desirous to promote the agricultural at the expense of the commercial interest; while their predecessors in office, as rigid followers of Mr. Colbert, would advance on an entirely opposite system. But neither the one nor the other will promote the resources of any country without great modification.

If the opinion I have formed be well founded, that the war we have happily concluded by our independence was produced by the interests of the mercantile system on the Atlantic, I have been led, also, to suspect that the political federation of the State comprises within it, in like manner, the spirit of a commercial confederacy; the effects of which, I trust, our penetration and conduct will succeed to direct to further beneficial consequences to our country than are contemplated or regarded by its members.

In examining the commercial history of all nations, I have nowhere found a parallel to such a degree of trade carried on in any other country as that of our own, with the protection of so small a navy, and the assistance of so much foreign capital. The extent of our navy is known to every one. But it is not, probably, generally understood, that two-thirds of the capital made use of is not our own, but that of foreigners and belligerents—some of it embarked in our home and foreign trade; the rest in our carrying trade. What influence from this source may flow into the country it much concerns us to weigh and watch. But I have observed some resemblance in the general character of our Atlantic commerce, and the Teutonic confederacy, founded in Germany about the middle of the thirteenth century. There was created a commercial confederacy of cities, distant from each other in local situation and interests. The Hanseatic towns associated for trade, not only all the maritime cities of Germany, but even comprehended some of France and England—the whole directing the partial views and interests of individual members to the profit of the company. The Atlantic confederation has conciliated the different interests of the North and South, with the general profit of the whole. The Teutonic confederacy was carried on without interfering with the various sovereigns on whom they depended. The Atlantic confederacy has hitherto progressed with a successful accommodation of the various sovereignties and local interests of the respective States. The German confederacy became objects of the jealousy, and victims of the hatred of other nations, by the arrogance arising out of their prosperity in appropri-

ating to themselves the trade of the world which they had engrossed. The Atlantic confederacy may reach a similar prosperity, but will expire by a like fate.

From this hasty sketch of the state and principles of our Atlantic commerce, we are naturally led to ask, "in what manner these cis-Allegheny countries can control or be effected by its interests?" As to the latter member of this query, I have already said enough to show how diligently we should guard against the insinuation of its influence among us, and shall reserve myself on that topic for such further animadversion as may hereafter be due to the contingent remarks of others. But as to the former, our means or our motives to injure the commercial pursuits of our brothers on the Atlantic, will now engage my attention.

When I hear suggestions made of the danger of our rivaling the Atlantic States in their trade, I really suspect some motives for uttering them worse than ignorance. That the whole western country must, at least for a lapse of ages, content itself under the injunctions of nature, with the condition of an agricultural and manufacturing country, is a proposition too evident to be seriously questioned by any one. In the present state of information, it is equally known to the fishermen of Nantucket, and the rice-planter of Georgia, that it will forever remain impracticable for our shipping to perform a return voyage against the currents of our long rivers;* that the port of New Orleans, our only outlet, must always, from its situation, be indefensible against a single

* Steam had not then been applied to the purposes of navigation.

frigate, and that from our distance from the sea, and many temporary obstacles added to those that are already stated to be perpetual and insurmountable by ourselves, the United States, or some other commercial power, must ever be the carriers of our surplus produce from New Orleans.

It was no serious alarm, therefore, of our being ever able to entertain the project of appropriating generally to ourselves, either a part of their foreign or of their carrying trade that has hitherto engendered in the Atlantic merchant a desire to foster a scheme of jealous and narrow policy, which they have succeeded in infusing into all our cabinets and councils against the advancement of our western interests since the Revolution, which, from the period of the reservation of the Salt springs, to the last moderate increase of the price, in what are called Congressional lands, our trusty representatives have so temporarily forborne to expose to their constituents. The real object was, the monopoly of the West India market. But that market they must share, and indeed abandon to us, however our political situation may vary. It should not, however, be inferred, that the use we can make of it, for a great many years to come, can materially injure the commercial interest of the Atlantic States. How paltry, then, has been the little jealousy of us, conceived upon this ground! How mean and treacherous the concealment of it from the people! But how criminal has been every system of all our Federal and Republican cabinets, as regarding this division of the Union, how masked to our citizens, we will now inquire.

A wilderness that hardly had felt the footsteps of civil-

ized man, is pierced in the midst of a foreign war. Our adventurous citizens first encounter all the miseries of the forest, and the savage warfare of the Indians, in prospect of acquiring a patrimony for their children. Their numbers are small, but they maintain their posts, and ever march against a foreign foe on their frontier, whilst their brethren are encountering him on the sea-board. After many vicissitudes of hardship and privation, they are joined in the woods by their relatives and friends, who only brought with them, out of the Revolutionary war, the scars and wounds they received in fighting for their country, depending on her gratitude for the recompense of their labors. Thus united, all strive in common against the savages, and participate in the equal prospect of indemnity from the State and from Congress. In a short time they discover that those lands which owed all their worth to themselves are ceded to the Union. Indian titles are set up, and extinguished by some trinkets and some spirits, and the real conquerors of the country, are either confined to the corn fields they had planted, or left to pine unknown in some more distant retreats in the wilderness. Such has been the fortune of our adventurers into the country generally, for twenty years, from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi, particularly in Kentucky. Such has been the retribution of our country to her children, who have shed their blood for her honor and independence!

Notwithstanding all restrictions, however, of impolicy and injustice, our country advances in population and settlement. Immense numbers of emigrants from the old States flock to our woods, and unite with us in forcing

the face of our wilderness to unbend somewhat of the rigors of its savage features to take upon it the cheering smiles of agriculture. In ten or twelve years our disinterested statesmen on the Atlantic felicitate our delegates on the growing prosperity of our country; profess to them assurances of the fatherly love and protection of the Federal Government; invite them to return into the family of the Union, from which they had eloped by their emigration, so soon as they shall be entitled to readmission therein, by some years probation in passing through the purgatory of a territorial government, when they shall be honored by being permitted to contribute to State and Federal revenues, not through the coercion of an ordinance of Congress, but by their own representatives; when, instead of no representative government at all, they shall be placed under two, without paying both of which, they will be neither able to protect themselves against Bonaparte or the grand Mogul, to make laws for the restraint of crimes or the security of property in the woods. Such or similar topics of comfort and admonition have been swallowed by the large ears of our representatives; such they have echoed to their constituents. The people, on their side, illy fitted, by their habits and occupations, for sounding the depths of these speculations, have innocently believed their interests, if not duly attended to, were not at least betrayed. But now they begin to inquire what mysterious complication of circumstances reduces them to the necessity of supporting two governments, with two judiciaries to repress private wrongs, and enforce private rights, in a country where both are few and simple; to contribute two revenues to

two executives, some of them non-resident among them, and all alive to their own interests; in short, to pay the wages of a double representation, which has hitherto neglected or sacrificed the proper objects of its mission. When we soberly interrogate ourselves on these subjects we readily find a clue that will easily lead us out of the mazes of the labyrinth in which we have so long wandered. We shall then behold, in the open field of investigation, into which I perhaps have first entered, the two principal, if not the only, enemies of our rights and interests—ill-founded prejudices of commercial growth and origin in the Atlantic States, against the effects of our prosperity in the western country, and the neglect of that inquiry or information hitherto by our citizens, which should enable them properly to appreciate their civil and political situation both present and to come.

How far I may have deserved well of the country in reconnoitering the enemy in his trenches, as I promised in my last, and have endeavored in this paper, I will not presume to judge. At some after period, when the warmth of interest, passion and party shall subside, I will patiently, and I hope with dignity, abide the judgment of my fellow-citizens. In the same spirit I shall, in my next paper, consider the objections that have occurred to me against the measure of a severance of the Union, with the reputations they may require. But I wish it understood, that I have no intention of recommending either the mode or the time in which it should be effected. An individual embarked in the vessel of my country, when I alarm my shipmates with my report, that the helm is deserted or improperly manned, I do not pre-

sume to dictate to them how or whither they should steer till called upon to do so. In the mean time, however, the timid or designing among the crew may do well to compose their alarms, or regulate their schemes, by an implicit assurance that through all changes and chances of the voyage I shall always be found at my post, wherever private honor or public duty may summon me.

QUERIST.

Lexington, Kentucky, was then a central point in the western Territories of the United States; then, as now, its society was of the most intelligent and refined in the Mississippi valley. The best and most ancient and honorable families of Virginia and the South had its legitimate representatives in her gay assemblies. No one accustomed to the elegancies of refined society, either in the old or new world, ever visited its hospitable mansions without an agreeable surprise at the taste and cultivation of its ladies, and the high-toned gallantry of its men. No other village of equal population, no other suburban settlements, I assert it not disparagingly, could boast a longer catalogue of equally illustrious names. In those days, to cross the Alleghennies without running over to Lexington, would be to visit France without a stroll along the Boulevards, or to wander over Italy without looking in upon the Vatican.

In the month of October, Mrs. Alston, the accomplished daughter of Col. Burr, was joined by her husband at the Island Mansion. The ostensible object of the visit was the re-establishment of her health, and the gratification of her father, who desired her company on

his wild and solitary rambles. Lexington had been designated as the point of rendezvous, and thither they repaired, accompanied by Blennerhassett. The manner of their reception—the marked respect and generous hospitality which was every-where extended, flattered them with the hope of the popularity of the movement. Measures were immediately initiated for a thorough organization. It was strongly suspected that meetings for this purpose were being secretly held after the manner of those inaugurated by Genet. Hence the utmost precaution was necessary to conceal from the public observation every thing that might excite their alarm. Among the desirable qualities for a successful commander, it is said, not the least is the art of conducting a safe retreat, as well as a decisive attack. He should know how to cover his retiring files, as well as to order to an advance. To quiet the apprehension of the country it was necessary to adopt some plausible pretext with which to mask the real design, and actually to be embraced in case of a failure. Hence it was announced that the object of the movement was the colonization of the Bastrop lands. A purchase was therefore agreed upon for several thousand acres lying on the waters of the Washita, which, with many of the uninitiated, was supposed to be their real destination.

Col. Alston was a man of large fortune. He was extensively engaged in the culture of rice, in the State of South Carolina; but a succession of failures in crops had left him destitute of ready means to supply the necessities of Burr. These, upon his personal guaranty, were furnished by Blennerhassett, who had to resort to his

friends for his own accommodation. The following letter throws some light upon the subject, and may settle the question which was afterward disputed:

LEXINGTON, KY., *Oct.* 18*th*, 1806.

MESSRS. JOS. S. LEWIS & CO., PHILA.:

DEAR SIRS:—Having found in this place a most valuable opportunity of participating with some friends of the first respectability and resources in the Union, in a commercial and land speculation, the prospect of effecting which depends on my obtaining a credit with you, or some other friends, for eight or ten thousand dollars, by your honoring my drafts at sixty and ninety days, I feel no hesitation in resorting to your approved friendship for my accommodation. In order to supply the deficit of my actual funds, under your management, in the —— stock, I can vouch for your receiving about one thousand pounds Irish on my account, in the course of twelve months. But I can at any time give security on the vast estates, and other property of Joseph Alston, Esq., of South Carolina, who is absolutely exempt from all manner of incumbrance, and is the son-in-law of Col. Burr.

In a case of such interest and importance, which, besides in the event of my success, will not be indifferent to your mercantile concerns hereafter, I hope I need urge no further apology, for the first freedom of this kind I have ventured with you.

I shall therefore expect your answer as soon as I can have it by post, directed to me at home; and, in the mean time, I remain as I ever shall, dear sirs,

Your faithful friend, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT

P. S.—I can not embark on an aid short of $8,000, but $10,000 would improve the concern I look for almost doubly. H. B.

The expedition, in the eyes of many, began now to assume a serious aspect; and, through the medium of the press, attracted the attention of those more remote from the scene of preparations. Apprehension and alarm seized on the public mind, and spread dismay throughout the country. Spain had refused us compensation for her spoliations during a former war. Our commerce passing on the Mobile river continued to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. The boundaries of Louisiana remained in dispute, producing much uneasiness and discontent in the south-west. The Government had been deterred from a declaration of war by Napoleon, from the effects of whose arms Europe was then trembling, and who had intimated that France would take part with Spain in any contest she might have against the United States. Add to these, the impressment of American seamen by British vessels, and it will be seen our nation was at once reduced to a situation of painful humiliation.

Feeble, indeed, would be that aid which a disunited people could render, in time of perils such as these. Never before, in the history of the nation, had rebellion and disunion so openly avowed itself. How far this disaffection extended was, to many, a matter of mysterious and anxious conjecture. Burr had, but a few years previously, closed a close and popular canvass for the executive chair. It was known that, not only his partisans, but his

personal friends, were numerous; many of whom were men of wealth and influence, who could rally to their standard a formidable number to support the cause of faction. Party malevolence and personal animosity added fuel to the flame, and ultimate ruin hung, as a withering pall, over the destinies of the country.

A rumor was gaining ground that a numerous and powerful association, extending from New York, through the Western States, to the Gulf of Mexico, had been formed; that eight or ten thousand men were to rendezvous in New Orleans, at no distant period; and from thence, with the co-operation of a naval force, follow Burr to Vera Cruz; that agents from Mexico had come to Philadelphia during the summer, and had given assurances that the landing of the expedition would be followed by such an immediate and general insurrection as would insure the submission of the existing Government, and silence all opposition in a very few weeks; that a part of the association would descend the Alleghenny river, and the first general rendezvous would be at the rapids of the Ohio, toward the 20th of October, and from thence the aggregate force was to proceed in light-boats, with the utmost velocity, to New Orleans, under an expectation of being joined on the route by men raised in the State of Tennessee and other quarters.

It was said that the maritime co-operation relied on was from a British squadron in the West Indies; that active and influential characters had been engaged in making preparations for six or eight months past, which were in such a state of readiness that it was expected the van would reach New Orleans in December, where the

necessary organization and equipment would be completed with such promptitude that the expedition would leave the Mississippi toward the first of February. It was added, that the revolt of the slaves, along the river, was relied on, as an auxiliary measure; and that the seizure of the banks of New Orleans was contemplated to supply the funds necessary to carry on the enterprise.*

Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, through considerations of caution, and to quell the apprehension of danger, adopted the precautionary measure of appointing Graham, the Secretary of the Territory of Orleans, a secret agent of the Government, with instructions to spy out and investigate any plot hostile to the national interest; empowering him to enter into conferences with the civil and military authorities in the West, and, with their aid, to call on the spot whatever should become necessary to discover the designs of the supposed conspirators; and also to bring the offenders to punishment, when he should have fully ascertained their intentions.

It being known, at this time, that many boats were in preparation, stores and provisions collected, and an unusual number of suspicious characters in motion, on the Ohio and its tributaries, orders were given to the Governor of the Mississippi and Orleans Territories, and to the commanders of the land and naval forces, to be on their guard against surprise, and in constant readiness to resist any enterprise that might be attempted.

On the 8th of November, instructions had been sent to

* Martin's History of Louisiana.

General Wilkinson, to hasten on accommodations with the Spanish commander on the Sabine, and fall back with his principal force on the hither bank of the Mississippi.* This order, however, had been anticipated by Wilkinson, who, on the 5th of the same month, three days previous to the dispatch of the instructions, having received intelligence that the Spanish camp on the Sabine would be broken up on that day, began his march toward Natchitoches. Immediately on his arrival there, he had directed Porter to proceed with the utmost expedition, and to repair, mount, and equip for service, every piece of ordnance in the city; to employ all hands in preparing shells, grape, canister and musket cartridges, with buckshot; to have every fieldpiece ready, with horse, harness and drag-rope, and to mount six or eight battering cannons on fort St. Charles and fort St. Louis, below and above the city, and along its front, flanks and rear.

Porter left Natchitoches with all the artificers, and company of one hundred men, and had been followed by Cushing with the rest of the forces, leaving only one company behind. Wilkinson, on his way to New Orleans, stopped at Natchez, and made application to the Executive of the Mississippi Territory for a detachment of five hundred men of its militia to proceed with him; but, declining to communicate his motives in making the requisition, the Governor refused a compliance with so mysterious a demand.

From this place, Wilkinson, on the fifteenth of November, dispatched Burling, one of his aids, to Mexico, for

* Jefferson's Message of 22d of January, 1807.

the ostensible purpose of apprising the Viceroy of the danger with which his sovereign's dominions were menaced; but, in reality, as the general mentions in his memoirs, on grounds of public policy and professional enterprise, to attempt to penetrate the veil which concealed the topographical route to the city of Mexico, and the military defenses which intervened—feeling that the equivocal relation of the two countries justified the *ruse*.*

As soon as Wilkinson arrived in New Orleans, he held an interview with Governor Claiborne; at which time it was deemed expedient to convoke the merchants of the city, to adopt precautionary measures for their security. The latter, in an animated address, exhorted them to assist him in his efforts for the defense of the city, and solemnly swore, in the enthusiastic style peculiar to him, that, if it were taken by the vessels, he would perish in the endeavor to repel the assault. The meeting adopted, unanimously, some spirited and patriotic resolutions. A considerable sum was subscribed to be distributed as bounty among such sailors as might engage to serve on board the ships. Many of the guns of the city were placed upon the merchantmen in the river; and a respectable fleet was suddenly formed, to oppose that of the British, which was expected from the West Indies.

The rumors which had induced this energetic action, on the part of the Government, had been but recently confirmed by the reception, on the part of the President, of the proceedings of a meeting in Wood County, Virginia, expressive of alarm for the safety of the country,

* Martin's History of Louisiana.

by the accumulating evidences of the complicity of Burr and Blennerhasset, in a mysterious and, as many believed, treasonable design.

The cause of their apprehension proceeded from a partial revelation of the objects of the expedition to some of his more intimate acquaintance, by Blennerhassett, and to whom, also, he had made a secret acknowledgment of the authorship of "Querist."

Mrs. Blennerhassett, having learned of the meeting, and being informed that a battalion of three companies, under command of Col. Phelps, were then mustering at the Point (Parkersburg), intending to make a descent that evening, to burn the mansion and seize the kiln-dried corn, dispatched Peter Taylor to Kentucky, to inform her husband of the danger with which his person and property were menaced.

On the receipt of the intelligence he immediately left for home. Reflecting on his way that he should be unprovided with the means of defense to protect himself against the attack of the militia, he called upon Dr. Bennett, of Mason County, Virginia, to learn any particulars of which he was advised, and to secure such aid as the Doctor might be able to afford him in the defense of his property at the Island. He protested the innocence of their designs, and abjured any intention of a separation of the Union, unless by the voluntary act of the people, when such a measure should be rendered expedient. He communicated the fact of the purchase of the Bastrop lands, and desired to enlist such persons as might be desirous of emigrating. Taking leave of the Doctor at the ferry, he arrived at the Island on the following day.

The excitement had by no means abated. Rumors had reached him that an attempt would be made on his person that evening; but as Col. Phelps had assured Mrs. Blennerhassett, during the absence of her husband, that she should be protected against violence, he felt no immediate apprehension of danger. On being informed of the facts, he dispatched, by a messenger, the following communication to the Colonel:

WOOD COUNTY, *Nov.* 3*d*, 1806.

COLONEL PHELPS:

DEAR SIR:—Just returned home, after a journey of seven hundred miles, I hasten to express to you the satisfaction with which I learned, on the road, that you had been invested with the command of the two volunteer companies that had been raised in this country during my absence, as that circumstance afforded me a sure guarantee against the idle reports I had heard, of any misguided violence intended by my neighbors against my family or property while I was not on the ground to defend them. But the information my wife has given me of the purport of the friendly message you sent her, at a time when you thought it would be expedient, has laid me under personal obligations to you, and rendered it a duty with me to endeavor to revive our former neighborly intercourse, especially at a season when so much misconception misleads the people, propagated, as I have no doubt I can satisfy you, by your enemies and their own, when I shall have the pleasure of an hour's unreserved conversation with you, in which I expect I can make you some propo-

sitions that will engage your attention and be serviceable to your best interests. I therefore embrace the earliest opportunity of soliciting an interview with you, and, in consideration of my fatigue, I take the liberty of requesting to see you this evening, and accept of a bed with us; or if that should be inconvenient to you, I shall do myself the pleasure of attending any appointment you may designate for to-morrow.

I am, dear sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

Col. Phelps to Blennerhassett.

NEWPORT, *Nov. 6th*, 1806.

DEAR SIR:—From circumstances of business, it was out of my power to attend at Col. Cushing's so early as my appointment. A short time after you left there I went over, and found your note requesting me to wait upon you this day. I am sorry that, from similar circumstances, I shall not be able to comply; but, if you should be at home, I shall do myself the pleasure to wait upon you to-morrow.

Your obedient servant, HUGH PHELPS.

Col. Phelps having visited Blennerhassett, according to appointment, the latter thanked him for informing his wife of the rumors which were afloat, and the measures which had been adopted to arrest the designs of himself and associates. He effected, however, to ridicule the reports he had heard of the injuries threatened his fam-

ily, and suggested that he suspected the other party in the country under the influence of the Hendersons, was becoming so strong that its leaders would probably overturn the Colonel's interest, on which alone they had hitherto depended for whatever popularity they had acquired, and cautioned the Colonel against any coalition or co-operation they might seek with him, in exciting clamor or suspicion against the views or intentions of Aaron Burr or his friends, which the past conduct of the Hendersons toward him should induce him to avoid.

Col. Phelps, in reply, complained much of the ill-treatment he had received from the Hendersons. Blennerhassett stated his concern with Aaron Burr in a land purchase; that he solicited or invited no person to join in the emigration, though many had voluntarily offered to do so, but added that if the Colonel wished a concern for himself or his friends, he might look to the example of General Jackson, and other characters of distinction, who, Blennerhassett understood, were going to join in the settlement with many associates; that, as to the rumors and suspicions that had been circulated of Col. Burr, or his friends, which accused them of engaging in any thing against the laws of the United States, such were wholly groundless; but it was not unlikely that the proximity of the purchase to that part of the country where an engagement had already taken place, or might soon be expected, between General Wilkinson and the Spaniards, would engage Col. Burr and his friends in some of the earliest adventures of the war; General Jackson being already prepared to march with one thou-

sand or fifteen hundred of his Tennessee militia, whenever he should think himself authorized by the orders or *wishes* of the Government to put that body in motion. Col. Phelps received this information with declining to embark himself, on account of his family and the unsettled state of his affairs, but said he had no doubt many young men from Wood county would be glad to go with Blennerhassett, to whom he would recommend the speculation, as he might have opportunities.

From General Devereaux.

BALTIMORE, *Oct.* 13*th*, 1806.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.:

MY DEAREST FRIEND:—Your last esteemed letter I have duly received. I am both rejoiced and saddened at it. Rejoiced I am, that it should be my good fortune to be so kindly held in the light I see I am, by those so dear to me, as you and your estimable lady. I am, however, both saddened and distressed, that my affairs are not in that train to permit me to join you in this month, as I had fondly contemplated, and as you so much wish. Such is the nature of our business, that it is utterly impossible for me to wind it up at present, and this from new and unexpected obstacles—obstacles which I shall fully explain to your satisfaction, and the satisfaction of our great and common friend, when we meet.

How grateful and flattered do I feel, my valued sir, for the good opinion you are pleased to express and entertain of me. On this subject I shall only further add, that I trust I shall never disappoint you in these sentiments,

and that I may yet have opportunities of evincing my gratitude by actions instead of words.

Please present your worthy Mrs. Blennerhassett with my kindest and best respects, and assure yourself, my ever dear sir, of the warm attachment I shall ever feel for you, and those that belong to you.

Yours most truly, J. DEVEREUX.

P. S.—Should you see our distinguished friend shortly, recall me to him with that ardent respect and attachment which I feel for him. Do n't forget.

Shortly after his arrival at the island, Blennerhassett was joined by Burr, who had also returned from Kentucky and his journey through Ohio. He did not remain long, however, at the scene of preparations on the Muskingum. Having completed his arrangements, he left Blennerhassett to superintend the construction of the boats, to make the necessary preparation, and to follow him, as soon as practicable, to the mouth of the Cumberland, with the men, provisions and boats.

Burr proceeded down the Ohio to Kentucky, where he had hardly landed before he was arrested, and carried before the United States' Court, on a charge of "treasonable practices, and a design to attack the Spanish domains, and thereby endanger the peace of the United States." He announces the fact as follows:

LEXINGTON, *Nov. 6th*, 1806.

Yesterday, Mr. Jos. Davis, the district attorney of the United States, made an application to the federal court at

Frankfort, for a warrant to apprehend me for treasonable practice, or on some suspicion thereof. The charge is not well-defined by my informant, but the substance is, "a design to attack the Spanish dominions, and thereby endanger the peace of the United States." How this charge was supported, I have not heard; but absurd and ridiculous as it may appear, the judge has taken time until this day to consider if he should refuse to grant the warrant. He must expect a tornado of abuse from the *W. World* and some other papers. It is also probable, that villains enough may have been found to encounter all the perjuries which may be thought necessary to gratify malice. These things taken together, it is fair to infer, as probable, that the warrant will be granted. Unfortunately this being a proceeding on suspicion, and previous to any inquiry by a grand jury, no immediate trial can be had, and the object undoubtedly is to give a sort of sanction to the charge by this measure, in order to influence public opinion. You perceive, my dear sir, that this step will embarrass me in my project of the Washita settlement. I pray, however, that you will have no solicitude about me; and it will afford me the highest gratification, if my friends should feel as little anxiety for the result as will be felt by your faithful and affectionate,

A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

P. S.—You perceive that this event will deprive me of the pleasure of seeing you at your own house. I should not have disturbed your repose with this relation, had

I not known that it would come to you with exaggerations through an hundred channels. A. B.

The arrest was premature, and Burr was discharged for want of evidence.

Near the middle of November, Graham, the Government's confidential agent, proceeded to Marietta, where extensive preparations were going on. Here he met, and held an interview with, Blennerhassett. After discoursing upon the subject of the expedition, with a frankness which was only warranted by a well-founded belief (from what Burr had previously intimated) that Graham was considered as one of the recruits, Blennerhassett read to him some communications he had just received by the hand of Capt. Elliott, and also from the preceding one of Burr, in relation to his arrest and trial at Frankfort, upon which Blennerhassett animadverted with great severity. Graham finding Blennerhassett was laboring under a delusion, in regard to the part that he was to perform in the transaction, informed him that Burr's representations, as to him (Graham) being with or favoring the expedition, were groundless. With no little surprise, he asked Graham whether he had not heard of an association, in New Orleans, for the invasion of Mexico. Upon Graham venturing to assure him that there was no such association there, Blennerhassett stated that he had been informed by Bradford, the printer of the "Gazette d'Orleans," that about three hundred men had already joined the expedition.

Considering Blennerhassett most cruelly deceived, Gra-

ham endeavored to draw him off from the undertaking, in which he was engaged; and conceiving it the policy of the Government to prevent, rather than to punish, such enterprises, he informed Blennerhassett that, so far from being concerned in the plan, he was the Government's authorized agent to inquire into the facts relative to the enterprise in the western country, and to take such steps as might be necessary for repressing it. He then stated to Mr. Blennerhassett, from reasons drawn from Burr's visit to New Orleans during the preceding summer, from the information which the Government had received, and from the nature of the preparations which Blennerhassett himself was then making, *why* he believed the object of Burr was either to attack the Territories of Spain or those of the United States; and added, that any collection of armed men on the Ohio river would, under the circumstances, be considered a violation of the laws, and repressed accordingly.

The object and extent of the preparations at Marietta having ben fully ascertained by Graham, according to instructions, he visited the Governor of Ohio, at Chillicothe, to procure the aid of the State authorities in suppressing the suspected formidable measures. Governor Tiffin communicated the matter to the Legislature, then in session, whereupon an act was immediately passed, entitled "An act to prevent certain acts hostile to the peace and tranquillity of the United States, within the jurisdiction of the State of Ohio." *

* Chase's Statutes of Ohio, Vol. I, p. 553.

Under this act, Governor Tiffin ordered out the militia of the adjacent neighborhood, under command of Major-General Buell, of Marietta, with instructions to that officer to take forcible possession of the boats and stores, not only upon the Muskingum, but also of all others of a suspicious character descending the Ohio.

A warlike array of undisciplined militia, with cannon, necessary equipage and arms, stationed themselves along the banks of the river, to cut off the forces expected from above. Many amusing jokes were played off at the expense of the raw recruits during this campaign—such as setting an empty tar-barrel on fire, and placing it in an old boat or raft of logs, to float by in the darkness of the night. The sentries, after duly hailing, and receiving no answer, would fire a shot to enforce their command; but still "dread silence reigned," and calmly the phantom vessel, with her stolid crew, floated onward and downward in utter recklessness. Irritated at such manifest contempt of their high authority, they plunged into the stream to seize the boat and capture its luckless navigators, when naught appeared but the remains of a log and a barrel, which some laughter-loving wag had freighted for their mischance and his amusement.

On another occasion, they had learned that Tyler* and his men had passed down the river as far as Blennerhassett's island, from whence he was expected to return, to re-capture the boats and provisions. To cut off all possible communication with Marietta, where the boats were

* Comfort Tyler was one of Burr's principal captains.

tied, particular instructions were given, in the evening, to bring away all the water-craft from the lower side of the Muskingum. Several sailors, who boarded on the opposite shore, considered the opportunity for sport too favorable to pass unimproved. The plan first proposed for the accomplishment of this end, was to raise an armed party, with blank cartridges, and fire at the sentinels. Upon strict search, however, they found that all the muskets, blunderbusses, rifles and shot-guns had been previously appropriated by the militia. The cannon was then thought of, when this, also, it was ascertained, had been called to the aid of the State authorities. Determined not to be defeated, in the laugh they had promised themselves, they resorted to the expedient of emptying a half-keg of powder into a canvas sack, wrapping it closely with twine. This they deposited under ground, care being taken to leave a communication with the contents by means of a priming-hole and slow-match. At midnight, when all, save the faithful and lonely sentinels, were enjoying that repose so necessary to the refreshment of the wearied soldier, after a destructive attack

"On whisky and peach-brandy," *

a confused and foreboding sound, from the opposite shore, grated unmusically on the ear of the guards. Although appearances were somewhat ominous, yet they concluded not to disturb the slumbers of their brothers in arms until a more satisfactory demonstration had been

* See Appendix.

made. For this opportunity they were not kept long in suspense. Suddenly the earth began to heave and throe, as if drunk with the heel-taps of the soldier's glasses, and, following in quick succession, a report, that many mistook for the summoning trump of the end of time. The scene which succeeded is more easily imagined than described. Those less confused did, indeed, take time to adjust their outside garments, but much the greater number started with nothing but their nether vestments, without regard to uniform or military parade. Here stood one, vainly struggling to thrust his feet through the arm-holes and sleeves of his linsey *warmus*, while, at his side, a companion had drawn his pants over his shoulders, illustrating, most ludicrously, but literally, the lines of doggerel:

> "Put on his shirt outside his coat,
> And tied his breeches round his throat.

Shivering, in the chill winds of December, they "hurried in hot haste" to the tanta-ran-ta of the trumpeter, and the rub-a-dub-dub of the "drum-major-general." Whether any had taken the precaution to "load" or "prime" is a question which time and reflection have never settled. The major, who was a tailor, is said to have charged the cannon with his *goose;* the State having made no provision for ammunition. The deputy, as he mounted his horse, was heard to say, that, "as great men were scarce, he thought it best to flee from danger." Had Tyler and his men been the real cause of their alarm, he would doubtless have met with a stern re-

sistance, but, fortunately for him, he was unconsciously asleep at the Island.

To Comfort Tyler, a chief assistant from New York, had been committed the duties of purveyor. It was expected that he would procure the necessary supplies in Pittsburgh, and descending the Ohio, join Blennerhassett at the Island. For want of means, and the delay of several associates who had appointed to meet him on the Ohio, he was detained beyond the time designated for his departure. To quiet the apprehension which his absence had occasioned, and in answer to a letter which had been forwarded from Blennerhassett, he writes as follows:

PITTSBURGH, *Nov.* 14*th*, 1806.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor, by Capt. Elliot, is duly received, for which I thank you. My calculations have at all times been to leave Beaver on the first of next month. The only difficulty that I have to encounter is, the procuring the provisions necessary for my settlers, some of whom are behind, and I fear they will not arrive in time; but I shall be off with the few that may happen to be with me, and trust to those behind to follow on. I shall also encourage some gentlemen to forward on flour, pork and whisky, with a promise that they may have their pay for them on the way.

I have been unfortunate in having means furnished me equal to fulfilling contracts that might have been made for the article of whisky, in a particular manner, as the merchants are under the necessity of paying ready cash for it (they can not procure it on a credit). I expected

Mr. Thompson or a Mr. Hopkins would have returned to me with some means, to enable me to make greater speed, but as they do not come, must suppose they have either not met with our friend, who is the principal agent in the purchases, or that the distance has been too far for them to return by this time. I think, however, that before you receive this, one of the men will be at Marietta, on their way to me; but be assured, that no time shall be lost on my part to be ready and on my way by the 1st; and by the 8th of the month, can, of course, be with you, or, at farthest, on that day. I shall, however, expect instructions through you, how and where I am to call, and of whom I may expect aid in any case: not being acquainted with any one, after I leave Beaver, I shall therefore expect some person to look for me, with your letter of introduction to me, with directions where I am to call on you. In the mean time,

Believe me, dear sir, your faithful friend,

COMFORT TYLER.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

On Saturday evening, the 6th of December, the Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, in the course of his journey east of the mountains, stopped at the island, with the view of purchasing this "most elegant seat in Virginia." Finding, however, that Blennerhassett estimated it at fifty thousand dollars, which (he remarked) was ten thousand less than it had cost him, Mr. Mercer abandoned the idea of purchasing; and the rest of his time, during the visit, was spent in conversation with Blennerhassett and his

accomplished lady. It turned upon his removal to the "Washita"—the name of his new purchase. With great earnestness, he pressed Mr. Mercer to become a participant; suggesting how much it would augment his fortune, and enforcing the inducement by an assurance that the society he invited him to join would soon become the most agreeable and select in America. He spoke of Burr as the moral head of it; and when Mr. Mercer expressed a doubt of the permanency and happiness of a union formed under such auspices, and dwelt upon such traits of Burr's general character as he deemed exceptionable, Blennerhassett vindicated him, with the enthusiasm of an ardent admirer.

Blennerhassett having intended to visit Marietta on Sunday evening, Mr. Mercer proposed accompanying him, as that was directly on his route. As a tribute of merited gratitude, he remarks, that he left the mansion in perfect good will to all its inhabitants; regretting that the engagements of its proprietor and his own dreary journey, but just begun in the commencement of winter, forbade him to prolong a visit which, although so transient, had afforded him so much pleasure. All that he had seen or heard corresponded so little with the criminal designs imputed to Blennerhassett, that, if he could have visited him with unfavorable sentiments, they would have vanished before the light of a species of evidence which, if not reducible to the strictest rules of legal testimony, had, nevertheless, a potent influence over all sensitive hearts; and which, though it doth not possess the formal sanction of an oath, hath

often in it a great deal more truth than statements thus verified.

"What!" remarks Mr. Mercer, "will a man who, weary of the agitations of the world, of its noise and vanity, has unambitiously retired to a solitary island in the heart of a desert, and created a terrestrial paradise, the very flowers, and shrubs and vines of which he had planted and nurtured with his own hands; a man whose soul is accustomed to toil in the depths of literature; whose ear is framed to the harmony of sound, and whose touch and breath daily awaken it from a variety of melodious instruments; will such a man start up, in the decline of life, from the pleasing dream of seven years' slumber, to carry fire and sword to the peaceful habitations of men who have never done him wrong? Are his musical instruments and his library to become the equipage of a camp? Will he expose a lovely and accomplished woman, and two little children, to whom he seems so tenderly attached, to the guilt of treason, and to the horrors of war; a treason so desperate?—a war so unequal? Were not all his preparations better adapted to the innocent and useful purpose which he avowed, rather than to the criminal and hazardous enterprise which was imputed to him? Whence arose those imputations? From his union with Col. Burr. But it is evident he has been led to this union from his admiration of the genius, and confidence in the virtue and honor, of the person with whom it has connected him. That which, with a harsh-judging world, is the foundation of a belief of his guilt, when thoroughly and candidly ex-

amined, carries on its face, therefore, the stamp of his innocence."

On the same day of the arrival of Mr. Mercer at the Island, also landed Comfort Tyler, with his boats and provisions, and a small party of men under his command. He found Blennerhassett much disheartened as to the enterprise, and nearly resolved to abandon it altogether. Through the persuasive eloquence of his wife, however, who had now enlisted in the undertaking with heroic enthusiasm, and the arrival of Tyler's men, "the lord of the isle," as if some demon of evil haunted his footsteps, and urged him on to an unknown destiny, yielding rather to the wishes of others than to the dictates of his own better judgment, again embarked his fortune and fame in the enterprise of Burr.

The boats and stores at Marietta being in readiness for embarkation, orders were issued to the guard to exercise the utmost vigilance in preventing their departure. Suspicions of the illegal character of the enterprise became daily more confirmed. Many had already abandoned it, while others hesitated to commit their fortunes to one whom popular prejudice condemned, and to whom popular rumor had attributed such alarming designs. Blennerhassett saw that the storm was rapidly gathering, and to delay would result in his own discomfiture and the defeat of the expedition.

On the evening of the 8th of December, a party of young men, assembled at the hospitable fireside of a Belpré neighbor, were engaged in animated conversation

on the subject of the enterprise before them. They were yet young, but ardent and daring, and joined the expedition from the love of adventure, and to visit foreign lands. Above all, they desired to realize the enchantments of those vast and far-off savannas which fancy, bending her iris of many-colored hues, had draped in perpetual verdure, where myriads of blossoms, exhaling delicious odors, gemmed the variegated landscape with their dazzling sheen. Reposing in the honor and courage of their leaders, they determined to explore that unknown world beyond, heedless alike of the admonition of friends, and the perils by which they were surrounded.

The boats at the mouth of the Muskingum were in the hands of the authorities, and it was determined to bring them away by a *coup d'assail.* As the night closed in, the young men ended their conference, and proceeded in a body to the scene of operation. This was their first adventure, and became intensely exciting from its novelty. The route lay along the ravine of the Ohio for a distance of about twelve miles. The road being nearly obscured by over-hanging boughs, the surrounding darkness afforded effectual protection against observation. Advancing with caution, they eluded the vigilance of the soldiers until they approached the shores of the Muskingum. As they proceeded to unfasten the boats, the noise attracted the attention of a sentinel, and the alarm was given. An exciting engagement ensued. No arms were used, their efforts being wholly directed to maintaining the custody of the boats by physical force.

Friend and foe were equally undistinguishable. The contest for a time seemed doubtful, as the middle of the stream had been reached, and the darkness rendered pursuit difficult. At length, however, they were all recaptured by the authorities, save one, which with its crew was safely conducted to the Island, and the young men returned to their homes, greatly amused with the incidents of their first engagement.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the 29th of July, 1806, Burr had dispatched, from Philadelphia, by the hands of Swartwout, to General Wilkinson, the following communication in cypher:

"*Your letter, postmarked 13th May, is received. At length* I have obtained funds, and have actually commenced. The *eastern* detachments from different points, and under different pretenses, will rendezvous on the Ohio, 1st of November. Every thing internal and external favors *our* views. *Naval* protection of England is secured. *Truxton* is going to Jamaica, to arrange with the Admiral on that station. It will meet *us at* the Mississippi. England, a navy of the United States, are ready to join, and final orders are given to my friends and followers. It will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only, and Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward 1st of August, never to return. With him go his daughter *and grandson.* The husband will follow in October, with a corps of worthies. Send, forthwith, an intelligent friend with whom Burr may confer. He shall return immediately with further interesting details: this is essential to harmony and concert of movement. Send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson west of the mountains, who *could* be useful, with

a note delineating their character. By your messenger, send me four or five of the commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under any pretense you please. They shall be retained faithfully. Already are orders given to the contractor to forward six months' provision to points Wilkinson may name; this shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunctions. *Our* project, *my dear friend*, is brought to a point so long desired. Burr guarantees the result with his life and honor, with the lives, and honor, and the fortunes of hundreds, the best blood of our country. Burr's plan of operation is to move down rapidly, from the falls, on the 15th of November, with the first five hundred or one thousand men, in light boats now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December, there to meet *you*, there to determine whether it will be expedient, in the first instance, to seize on, or pass by, Baton Rouge. . . . on receipt of this, send Burr an answer, ... draw on Burr for all expenses, etc. The people of the country to which we are going are prepared to receive us; their agents, now with Burr, say that if we will protect their religion, and will not subject them to a foreign power, that, in three weeks, all will be settled. The gods invite *us* to glory and fortune; it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon. The bearer of this goes express to you; he will hand a formal letter of introduction to you, from Burr; he is a man of inviolable honor and perfect discretion, formed to execute rather than project, capable of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them otherwise. He is thoroughly informed of the plans and intentions

of ———, and will disclose to you, as far as you inquire, and no further; he has imbibed a reverence for your character, and may be embarrassed in your presence; put him at ease, and he will satisfy you."*

The mystery in which it was ever the delight of Burr to enshroud himself—the secrecy with which he had thus far conducted his plans, revealing them but vaguely, even to those who from their position and aid were entitled to his confidence—forbids the conclusion that Wilkinson had remained unadvised of his designs or uncommitted to his enterprise. After the perusal of Burr's letter, to believe otherwise would be to charge him with madness, and of this he was never accused. Wilkinson was known to be friendly to Burr. He had held secret conferences with him, at the seat of government, only the Spring before, and that, too, after Burr's return from the western country, and while actively engaged in organizing his schemes. When on the Ohio, the closest intimacy had existed between them. Wilkinson had freely imparted information of the country, and acquainted him with the dispositions of the leading inhabitants; had furnished him with letters of introduction to his friends, and supplied him with facilities for travel. On the 28th of May, 1805, he had written to General Adair, from the falls of the Ohio: "I was to have introduced my friend Burr to you, but in this I failed by accident. He understands your merits, and

* The words in italics were stricken out, and, in some instances, supplied by others, in the copy which was presented to the Legislature of Louisiana by General Wilkinson. His reason for the alteration being to divert public suspicion from himself as being connected with Burr.

reckons on you. Prepare to visit me, and I will tell you all. We must have a peep into the unknown world beyond me.* On the 9th of June, in the same year, he writes Daniel Clark, of New Orleans: "This will be delivered you by Col. Burr, whose worth you know well how to estimate. If the persecutions of a great and honorable man can give title to generous attentions, he has claims to all your services. You can not oblige me more than by such conduct, and I pledge my life to you it will not be misapplied. To him I refer you for many things improper to utter, and which he will not say to any other."† Only on the 16th of July, but thirteen days previous to the cypher letter, General Dayton, of Ohio, had written him: "Your present is more favorable than your late position, and as you can retain it without suspicion or alarm, you ought, by no means, to return from it, until your friends join you in December, somewhere on the river Mississippi. Under the auspices of Burr and Wilkinson I shall be happy to engage, and when the time arrives, you will find me near you. Write and inform me, by first mail, what may be expected from you and your associates. In an enterprise of such moment, considerations, even stronger than those of affection, impel me to desire your cordial co-operation and active support. Wealth and honor, courage and union, Burr and Wilkinson! Adieu." Again, on the 25th day of July, but five days before the date of the cypher letter, Dayton writes: "It is well ascertained that you are

* Clark's Proofs against Wilkinson, p. 158.

† Clark's Proofs against Wilkinson, p. 119.

to be displaced at the next session. Jefferson will affect to yield reluctantly to the public sentiment, but yield he will; prepare yourself, therefore, for it; you know the rest. You are not a man to despair, or even disposed, especially when such prospects offer in another quarter. Are you ready? Wealth and Glory! Louisiana and Mexico!"*

Again, it was charged that Burr's designs were inimical to the United States; that his plan comprehended a dismemberment of the western country; that he was to seize on New Orleans, and revolutionize the Territory; that, crossing the gulf, he was to land at Vera Cruz, march to the city of Mexico, and establish a mighty empire, extending from the Apalachian Mountains to the borders of the Pacific, of which he himself was to be the chief. Several millions of dollars were reported on deposit in the banks at New Orleans, which, with a feigned regard to the rights of private property, he designed appropriating, with the hope of returning it when time and circumstances should render it convenient. Burr himself informs Wilkinson, that he will meet him at Natchez, "there to determine whether it will be expedient to seize on, or pass by, Baton Rouge." And, referring to Swartwout, he adds: "The bearer of this goes express to you from Burr; he is a man of inviolable honor, and perfect discretion; capable of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them otherwise.

* Clark's Proofs against Wilkinson, p. 158. This letter was also in cypher, being the same character used in the correspondence between Burr and Wilkinson.

He is thoroughly informed of the plans and intentions of *Burr*, and will disclose to you so far as you inquire, and no further."

Wilkinson was commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, and Governor of Natchitoches. His whole force was in active service, thoroughly disciplined and drilled. Obeying the dictates of honor, as a soldier, if not prompted by the impulses of a patriot, he was bound by every consideration of duty to arrest the progress of the scheme. Of all others, therefore, he was the most to be feared, and the most to be avoided by Burr. Yet while his plans are but partially revealed to his acknowledged confederates, while he diligently endeavors to elude the suspicions of his enemies, Burr suffers no opportunity to escape, without fully informing him of his designs, and asking his advice upon questions of doubtful expediency. To regard Wilkinson, therefore, in any other light than a chief accomplice, after the perusal of the cypher letter, would render the act of writing it the sheerest folly imaginable.

But Burr was the victim of a misplaced confidence. Wilkinson, through considerations of a personal character, fully to be explained in a subsequent chapter, revealed the plan and fastened the treason upon Burr. On the 21st of October, he communicated the substance of the cypher letter to Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, who, on the 27th of November, issued his proclamation, warning and enjoining those who had been led to participate in the unlawful enterprise to withdraw without delay, and requiring all officers, civil and military, of the United States, or any one of the States or

Territories, to be vigilant, each within his respective department, in searching out and bringing to punishment all persons engaged or concerned in the undertaking.

Under the authority, and by virtue of this proclamation, the Virginia militia, of Wood county, were called out, by command of Col. Hugh Phelps, of Parkersburg, as soon as he had received the intelligence, which was not until the 8th or 9th of December.

On the 10th of the month, Blennerhassett, having received information of the preparations making by Col. Phelps, who, it was expected, would march to the island on the following day, to take possession of his person, boats and stores, became much alarmed.

Having advised with his followers as to the propriety of remaining longer under these threatening circumstances, it was determined that further delay would be perilous to the enterprise. Orders were accordingly issued to have every thing in immediate readiness to precipitate their departure before the dawn.

The island soon became the scene of busy preparation. It was night, and innumerable lights flitted back and forth along the walks, and up and down the river. Voices in suppressed tones were heard uttering the words of command, while the muffled oars of the boatmen scarcely rippled the stream. The kitchen fire of the mansion reflected the shadowy outlines of bending forms, hurriedly engaged in running balls and folding cartridges. No longer the halls echoed the peal of merriment. No longer was heard the boisterous laugh, the piquant jest, and song of revelry. No longer the music of the violin inspired the dance. A new zeal had animated them; the hour for action had ar-

rived; and, as the curtain lifted on the scene, each man assumed his rolé in this grand, imposing drama. Such was the celerity with which the stores were transported to the boats, that, long before midnight, nothing remained to delay the embarkation of the new commander and his eager followers.

But, of all that busy crowd, none were more active than Mrs. Blennerhassett. An inspired enthusiasm had seized upon her, and urged her forward to wonderful effort. She seemed indeed the ruling spirit of the occasion. As her sylph-like form glided gracefully through the various apartments, from kitchen to hall, and from parlor to chamber, tarrying a moment to direct a servant, or deliver a message from her husband, many paused from their occupations, to catch a glimpse of the heroine of the expedition, and stood in wrapt admiration of her grace and energy. With her, the die had been cast, and on it depended her happiness or her ruin. To retreat, even if retreat were possible, involved the loss of property, of social relation, and, above all, her own proud self-respect, which never yet had yielded to the temptations of fortune or the maledictions of envy. "Onward! onward!" she urged to the hesitating and doubting husband. "To the plateaux of the sunny South; to the land of perennial verdure, where grow the citron and the olive, the orange and the pine apple; to the land of gold; to the Imperial City, the gay, the élite, the dazzling empire of the new world." The prize was indeed a tempting one. But eight years previous, they had left the shores of England, as adventurers in the forests of the Western world; they were now soon to return, not as private personages, but to the Court

of St. James—Blennerhassett as the proud representative of that giant empire, sweeping in its mighty circumference over half of the continent, with its millions of subjects, and she as the heroine of the conquest, and the partner of his triumphs. "Go," she urged, "before the minions of the Government are upon you. Wait not for me and the children; they dare not molest the mother and her innocents. We shall follow at a more opportune season, and meet again beyond the powers which pursue."

Calling her maids to her assistance, she busied herself in arranging such articles of clothing as might be needed by her husband before she could reach him, at the completion of which nothing was found neglected which could contribute to his health or administer to his comfort.

As the last trunk left the hall, the clock announced the hour of midnight—the eventful moment of departure. Blennerhassett, issuing from his chamber, ordered all hands to the river. Drawing her robes about her, his wife placed her arm through his, and both proceeded to the boats in close consultation. A deep snow lay upon the ground. The winds, sweeping the long reaches of the river, sighed among the leafless branches. It was penetratingly cold. On the beach, near the stream, a large fire curled its flames into the air, dissipating the immediate darkness, and painting spectral forms against the curtain of night still further beyond. Encircling this, Blennerhassett and his companions held secret council preparatory to their final departure. Not the least among these was his anxious and hopeful wife. To elude pursuit and pass Gallipolis in safety was the subject under immediate discussion. Nahum Bent was called forward and inquired of,

whether he could not furnish horses for Tyler and Blennerhassett, and, crossing the country by land, meet them somewhere in the vicinity of that place, that the two might thence proceed through Ohio and Kentucky, to the mouth of the Cumberland. But Bent had but one horse, though he thought another could be procured from a Belpré friend. He was directed by Blennerhassett to visit Captain Dana, and request the purchase or loan of one, and meet him above Gallipolis, where himself and Tyler would leave the boats, and, passing around the town, intercept them at a point below.

Mrs. Blennerhassett suggested that less inconvenience would be occasioned by taking a canoe, which lay adjacent, and on their approach to the town, the two should leave the boats, and floating leisurely by in an open vessel, used only for short voyages, would awaken no suspicion on the part of those who had been set to watch. As Blennerhassett was proceeding to give further directions, the company were suddenly startled by the abrupt intrusion of an officer, who, attracted by the light, had been watching their movements during the night. Stepping forward to Blennerhassett, he clapped his hand upon his shoulder and exclaimed:

"I arrest you, Harman Blennerhassett, in the name and by the authority of the State of Ohio!"

Instantly the muzzles of seven or eight muskets were leveled at the intruder's breast, and the sharp click of their locks sent a thrill of indescribable sensation through every nerve. Apprehending fully the danger of his situation, General Tupper, as they now distinguished him to be, cried out:

"Forbear, men! Forbear! Would you act so rashly?"

"By the gods!" exclaimed one, "we will protect ourselves, at all hazards, from an arrest. If in doing so it should become necessary to use our arms, we shall not hesitate to shoot, not only you," he added, "but all others who may interfere."

The General, finding resistance had been determined on, and that his own person was in imminent peril, endeavored to persuade Blennerhassett to reconsider his resolution of departure, surrender himself to the Government, and stand his trial, assuring him that it would satisfy the public indignation and curiosity, and result in no particular inconvenience to himself.

Finding, however, that he was deaf to entreaty, and was fully resolved and settled in his purpose, Tupper bade him and the party adieu, and wished them a safe escape down the river, and a fortunate adventure.

The conference thus abruptly ended, Blennerhassett, bidding his wife an affectionate farewell, with directions to follow as soon as her convenience would permit, embarked on board, and unmooring the boats, floated down the stream.*

In thus abandoning the partner of his bosom, with her helpless and defenseless household, Blennerhassett had not mistaken the character of the individual who, he rightly presumed, was soon to take charge of his mansion. From intimate association with the man, he knew that innocence and feebleness would ever be sacredly regarded by Col. Phelps; that, while duty to the calls

* Albright's Evidence on the Trial of Burr.

of his country compelled him to exercise the functions of his office, and that, too, in defeating the plans of his most intimate friend and associate, that power would be exerted with the strictest adherence to the laws of humanity and the highest sentiments of honor; that while no menaces would deter him from the disagreeable duty imposed, no act of wanton violence should stain the honor of the friend.

On the succeeding morning, Col. Phelps, with a small body of men, proceeded to the island. They found it deserted by its proprietor. Inquiries were made among the servants, who informed them of the circumstances of the preceding evening; adding, that Mrs. Blennerhassett was then on her way to Marietta, to secure, if possible, the boat originally intended for the conveyance of Blennerhassett and his family to the Washita.

Leaving the greater portion of his men in possession of the premises, Col. Phelps started across the country to intercept the descending boats, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. None having passed, during the previous day, answering to the description of those of which he was in pursuit, Col. Phelps informed the citizens of his designs, and procured a party to watch the river that night. Accordingly, a large fire was built upon the bank, around which the watch attempted to keep their midnight vigils. Following that ancient custom of "keeping the spirits up by pouring spirits down"—like the model "officer," who was enamored of the "landlady of France"—they soon became oblivious to military duty, and reckless of the consequences to result from their inattention. Taking advantage of the darkness of the

night, Blennerhassett glided silently by, without disturbing the slumbers of the guard, and, before the early dawn, was many miles beyond his discomfited pursuers. At the mouth of the Cumberland, he joined the flotilla of Burr, which was then awaiting accessions both from that river and the Ohio.

Not apprised, until late, that boats were being constructed on the Cumberland, the effect of the President's proclamation had been trusted to, for some time, in the State of Tennessee; but, on the 19th of December, similar communications and instructions with those of the neighboring States, were dispatched, by express, to the Governor, and a general officer of the western division of the State; and, on the 23d, Graham, the agent, left Frankfort for Nashville, to put into activity the means of that State also. Burr, however, had been too prompt in his movements for the agents of the Government. On the 22d of the same month, he had descended the Cumberland, with two boats laden with provision and a few additional forces.

The Governor of Kentucky, after the arrest and discharge of Burr, hearing of his arrival at the mouth of the Cumberland, with a flotilla of numerous vessels, and that he was there congregating his forces, ordered out the militia for his arrest; but Burr, anticipating the movement, slipped his moorings and proceeded on.

The flotilla now consisted of four boats under command of Tyler, two under Burr, two under Floyd, one under Ellis, one under Blennerhassett, and a commissary boat under Dean.

On the evening of the twenty-ninth, Burr stopped a

short distance below Fort Massac, then under the command of Capt. Bissell. The following morning, he was visited by that officer, who gave him a polite invitation to visit the fort and partake of its hospitalities. It is due to Capt. Bissell to state, (although the evidence on this point is conflicting,) that he was, at that time, without any instructions from the Government. He remarks, that he had learned, unofficially, of Burr's arrest and acquittal in Kentucky; hence, he concluded, that his mission was one of peace, and for the purpose, ostensibly held out, "of colonizing the Bastrop lands." He furnished Burr with a messenger, to convey a communication to the lead mines in Missouri, as well as one or two men for his enterprise, and a small quantity of provision; the latter, however, Bissell asserts, was sent by his wife, who was an early acquaintance of Burr, and who returned it, in compliment for a barrel of apples which Burr had forwarded to her.

On the evening of the third of January, 1807, Burr, with one boat, landed at Chickasaw Bluffs, a military station at that time commanded by Lieut. Jacob Jackson. He immediately dispatched a messenger to the commander of the fort, to inquire if quarters could be furnished him during the night, who shortly returned with an affirmative answer. The following morning, he had an interview with Jackson, on the subject of the expedition, in which he stated that he was going on a project of which many wished to know, but, from their inquisitiveness, he was not disposed to gratify them, but assured him that it was an enterprise which would be honorable to him, Jackson, and would be the making of those who should follow him, provided they survived the undertaking. Every ar-

gument was resorted to, to shake the fidelity of that young officer, to his country, and prevail on him to join the expedition, with the whole of the forces under his command. To the ardent and enthusiastic mind of youth, panting for scenes of glory and distinction, his offers of fame and emolument were truly tempting; particularly as they were enforced by the sophistical reasoning of that astute and experienced diplomatist. But, to his honor, and to the honor of American youths, particularly American officers, he foiled the attempts of the seducer, and came off moral victor in the attack. While in the service of his country, no offer of wealth, or place, or power, could decoy him from the path of rectitude. The Government had confided the command of that fort to his youthful hands, and so long as he retained that trust, his best energies should be exerted to preserve it with fidelity and honor.

On the 3d of January, 1807, the President dispatched the following communication to Gen. Wilkinson:—"I had yesterday intended to recommend, to Gen. Dearborn, the writing to you weekly, by post, to convey information of our affairs in the West, as long as they are interesting; because it is possible, though not probable, you might sometimes get the information quicker this way than down the river; but the General received, yesterday, information of the death of his son in the East Indies, and, of course, can not now attend to business. I, therefore, write you a hasty line, for the present week, and send it in duplicate by the Athens and Nashville route.

"The information in the inclosed paper, as to the proceedings in the State of Ohio, is correct. Blennerhassett's

flotilla, of fifteen boats and two hundred barrels of provisions, is seized, and there can be no doubt that Tyler's flotilla is also taken; because, on the 17th of December, we know there was a sufficient force assembled at Cincinnati to intercept it there, and another party was in pursuit of it on the river above. We are assured that these two flotillas composed the whole of the boats provided. Blennerhassett and Tyler had fled down the river. I do not believe that the number of persons engaged for Burr has ever amounted to five hundred; though some have carried them to one thousand or fifteen hundred. A part of these were engaged as settlers of Bastrop's land, but the greater part were engaged under the express assurance that the projected enterprise was against Mexico, and secretly authorized by this Government. Many expressly enlisted in the name of the United States. The proclamation, which reached Pittsburgh, December 2d, and other parts of the river successively, undeceived both these classes, and, of course, drew them off; and I have never seen any proof of their having assembled more than forty men, in two boats, from Beaver, fifty in Tyler's flotilla, and the boatmen of Blennerhassett. I believe, therefore, that the enterprise may be considered as crushed; but we are not to relax in our attentions until we hear what has passed at Louisville. If every thing, from that place upward, be successfully arrested, there is nothing from below that [is] to be feared. Be assured that Tennessee, and particularly General Jackson, is faithful. The orders lodged at Massac and the Chickasaw Bluffs, will probably secure the interception of such fugitives from justice as may

escape at Louisville; so that I think you will never see one of them. Still, I would not wish, till we hear from Louisville, that this information should relax your preparations in the least, except as far as to dispense with the militia of Mississippi and Orleans, leaving their homes, under our orders of November 25th. Only let them consider themselves under requisition; and be in a state of readiness, should any force, too great for your regulars, escape down the river. You will have been sensible that those orders were given while we supposed you were on the Sabine, and the supposed crisis did not admit the formality of their being passed by you. We considered Fort Adams as the place to make a stand, because it covered the mouth of Red river. You have preferred New Orleans, on the apprehension of a fleet from the West Indies. Be assured, there is not any foundation for such an expectation, but the lying exaggerations of these traitors to impose on others and swell their pretended means. The very man whom they reported to you as having gone to Jamaica and to bring the fleet, has never been from home, and has regularly communicated to me every thing which had passed between Burr and him. France or Spain would not send a fleet to take Vera Cruz; and, though one of the expeditions, now near arriving from England, is probably for Vera Cruz, and perhaps already there, yet the state of things between us renders it impossible they should countenance an enterprise unauthorized by us. Still, I repeat, that these grounds of security must not stop our proceedings or preparations until they are further confirmed. Go on, therefore, with your works

for the defense of New Orleans, because they will always be useful, only looking to what should be permanent rather than means merely temporary. You may expect further information as we receive it; and, though I expect it will be such as will place us at our ease, yet we must not place ourselves so, until we be certain, but act on the possibility that the resources of our enemy may be greater and deeper than we are yet informed.

"Your two confidential messengers delivered their charges safely. One arrived yesterday only, with your letter of November 12th. The oral communications he made me are truly important. I beseech you, take the most special care of the two letters which he mentioned to me—the one in cypher, the other from another conspirator of high standing—and send them to me by the first conveyance you can trust. It is necessary that all important testimony should be collected, without delay, to one center, in order that the guilty may be separated and the innocent left untroubled."

On the 5th of January, having supplied himself with thirty pounds of lead and three dozen tomahawks, together with other articles, Burr proceeded down to Palmyra, and thence to Bayou Pierre.

NOTE.—THE FOLLOWING IS A JOURNAL OF BLENNERHASSETT'S VOYAGE DOWN THE RIVER:

16*th December*.—Tuesday, we left Jeffersonville; crossed the falls; nothing extra; all our boats crossed safe.

17*th*.—Pursued our journey at twelve o'clock at night; landed at Salt river; took in seven hands; stopped some time; and started again at four o'clock in the morning. About ten o'clock, A. M., parted with Colonel Tyler, and four keel-boats left us. We had a very bad night, occasioned by heavy rain, which continued until morning.

18*th*.—Nothing remarkable; passed Anderson's river at thirty-five minutes past two o'clock, A. M.; passed one of the keel-boats at twelve o'clock at night.

19*th*.—Passed French Island at half-past nine, A. M.; passed Green river at half-past eleven, A. M. About one, P. M., had some trouble about a canoe, which some of our hands, being ashore after wood, had taken away. The owner followed; we had to pay him two dollars, and give up the canoe. Nothing more worth notice, until we arrived at Red Bank, then about sundown; found it to be a place of small note; there we remained two hours, and proceeding, passed Diamond Island about twelve o'clock at night.

20*th*.—About five, P. M., met with some difficulties among some sawyers, which is a term given by boatmen to old trees, which settle in the river, and which rise and fall by the rapidity of the current. They are often dangerous, and sometimes fatal. Immediately after disengaging our boats from the difficulty, we were prevented from proceeding by a ledge of rocks; with much hazard we cleared ourselves about seven; passed Highland Creek, where stands a town of small note, entirely inhabited by Roman Catholics. At half-past nine passed the Wabash river, came up with Colonel Tyler and his boats. In the forks of the Ohio and Wabash, stand a few houses, but of no consequence. The latter river here is of considerable magnitude, and runs into the Ohio, opposite the center of an island, which takes its name from the river. The Ohio, here, has a beautiful appearance, is [illegible] with handsome plantations along its banks. Four miles below the mouth of the Wabash, there is a large island, the name unknown. [illegible] exp[illegible] half-past twelve, P. M., arrived at Shawneetown: this is a [illegible] for the salt, made at the saline, but of no other importance [illegible] place of no trade.

21*st*.—Nothing remarkable.

22*d*.—Nothing in the course of the day, but had a very wet night.

23*d*.—A beautiful day; nothing extra.

24*th*.—Very windy; repaired our boats, they being very leaky in the roofs. At eleven o'clock, P. M., an express arrived from Colonel Burr informing us of his intentions to meet us at Cumberland river; likewise orders for us to proceed; but we were prevented by high winds, so remained that night.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

NEAR NASHVILLE, *Dec.* 20, 1806.

My young friend Stokely Hays, the son of a respectable old revolutionary officer, will hand you this, and will bring me your reply. I have experienced distressing delays; but shall be at the mouth of the Cumberland on the 23d, Sunday. Please to repair thither. Enter on the east (upper) side of the island, which lies in the mouth of the river.

I anticipate impatiently the pleasure of meeting you.

A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

25*th*.—Left Shawneetown at eight o'clock, A. M.; the wind fresh and ahead. Passed an island, name unknown to us. This day the wind blew so hard, that our boats were totally separated; with much difficulty our boat reached the Kentucky shore, after riding a tremendous swell; remained until sundown, and then proceeded on to join the rest of our company, who were in the same dilemma, being obliged to put in on the Indiana shore.

26*th*.—About five o'clock, A. M., one of Mr. Blennerhassett's boats joined us, being one of fifteen that were stopped at Marietta. At half-past seven o'clock passed the Rock and Cave; went ashore and viewed it; found no curiosities, more than a hollow cavern. Passed Hurricane Island and Creek at half-past ten o'clock; passed Clover Creek, eleven o'clock, on the Indiana side; passed the Copperas Banks at half-past three, P. M., Indiana shore.

27*th*.—Arrived at Cumberland river, at half-past ——, A. M.; joined Col. Burr, at the above place. The day was very stormy, and put our little fleet to considerable trouble.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

SUNDAY EVENING.

It is said that you have landed a mile below. We must all be stationary till morning. Send to me by return of this boat, Mr. Hays, with five hundred in twenty post notes, and fifty dollars in silver.

We will endeavor to start all the heavy boats at an early hour in the morning: those below are to wait till those above shall come down. A gun will be fired as a signal for moving.

All is well, very well, at this garrison.

Your friend,

A. BURR.

P. S.—Mr. Elliot has handed me some money. The silver is necessary, if it can be come at, and about three hundred dollars of paper. Hays need not come.

28*th*.—This day a boat joined us from Cumberland river, with Cols. Burr, Harris, etc., on board. Pushed off on our journey, and landed on the Kentucky shore eight miles distant from the above place. In consequence of high winds, we landed about eight o'clock, P. M.

29*th*.—This day pushed off at eight o'clock, A. M.; wind ahead and strong; obliged to land immediately opposite the mouth of Tennessee river, where we lay by for several hours; pushed off again at sundown, and passed Fort Massac at half-past eleven, P. M., and landed one mile below.

30*th*.—Pushed off at five o'clock, A. M.; pleasant weather; came into the Mississippi at half-past three o'clock; passed the Iron Banks at half-past eight o'clock, and passed the Chalk Banks at half-past nine, A. M.

31*st.*—Pleasant weather; nothing happened worth notice. Landed, at sundown, on the Louisiana shore.

January 1*st.*—This day landed at New Madrid, at nine o'clock, A. M.; remained about three hours, and left one of our hands, Major G. Wood, behind with a canoe, in order to engage some men that purposed coming on with us. This evening on coming ashore, owing to our being in rear of the fleet, and going after dark, our boat ran aground, but got off with some difficulty, and effected a good landing in a short time.

2*d.*—Pushed off this day at four o'clock, A. M.; passed the little prairie at eight o'clock; fine weather; landed at five o'clock at the Little Horse-shoe.

3*d.*—Pushed off this day about five, A. M.; passed a number of islands; saw no inhabitants. I believe the whole of the fleet, our boat only excepted, got into an eddy; we escaped only, and by our timely exertions gained the opposite side of the island and river, say the right hand side; the rest put ashore. Although contrary to Colonel Burr's orders, we alone pushed on.

4*th.*—This day at seven, A. M., we landed at the Chickasaw Bluff, where there is an American garrison, commanded by Lieut. Jackson.

5*th.*—This day at six o'clock, A. M., left this place, and floated all day, and landed at nine, P. M., on an island, in consequence of a very high wind; pushed off again at eleven o'clock.

6*th.*—Floated all day; nothing extra.

7*th.*—Do.

8*th.*—Do.

9*th.*—Floated all day, until two o'clock, P. M.; landed to wait for Col. Burr; got some wood; perceived the sign of horses, but no inhabitants any where to be found; pushed off again at three o'clock, being joined by the Colonel and his boats; floated all night through a very dangerous navigation; about eight o'clock one of Col. Tyler's boats being lashed to a flat, and striking against a sawyer, was broken loose, in consequence of which Capt. Dean's boat stopped, and dispatched a keel-boat in search of the one lost. Major Floyd's boat put ashore, in consequence of being deterred by a sudden squall of wind, which arose about eight o'clook; the rest of the boats proceeded.

10*th.*—At four o'clock, A. M., got into an eddy; could not get out, the night being very dark; stayed until daylight appeared; then got out, and came up with Col. Burr's two boats, namely, the boat he lived in, and one that had horses; they gave us a signal for landing, with which we complied, and effected a landing in the Mississippi Territory. About twelve o'clock this day, Col. Burr pushed down the river with a bateau and twelve men, and appointed to meet us again at Bayou Pierre; passed Palmyra at half-past one o'clock'; passed several islands, and landed about fifteen miles below.

11*th.*—This day pushed off at eight, A. M., and landed at Bayou Pierre at four o'clock, P. M.; joined Col. Burr and party; had some intention of

staying at this place some time, but were prevented by a rumor spreading in the country of our intentions being hostile, in consequence of which a party of militia came and stationed themselves in the woods, some distance from our boats, with an intention to stop us the next morning. We being apprised of their intentions, pushed off in the night, and landed four miles below, on the Louisiana shore.

12*th.*—This day were visited by Col. —— and some of his dragoons; talked with Col. Burr respecting his business, and went away well satisfied. This day Major Floyd joined us from Natchez.

13*th.*—This day were visited by Col. Fitzpatrick and some of his dragoons; we brought them over the river; talked with Col. Burr, and seemed well pleased. Col. Fitzpatrick brought with him about sixty men, all armed, in order to stop us; but on hearing our business, he sent the men home, and left us quietly.

14*th.*—Visited by several militia officers.

16*th.*—Visited by Col. Shields, Gov. Williams's aide-de-camp, who conversed with Col. Burr, and appointed a meeting between him and the Governor, and then departed.

17*th.*—This day Col. Burr started, agreeably to his appointment, to meet the Governor at the mouth of Cole's Creek, with several gentlemen with him. This day was remarkable for a heavy fall of snow, perhaps four inches deep.

18*th.*—The water falling rapidly, we thought it prudent to remove from our situation; and, agreeably to the orders of Mr. Blennerhassett, two of our boats moved down the river about a mile, being afraid of being blocked in by a bar that was outside of the creek, where we then lay.

19*th.*—This day Col. Fitzpatrick, with some other officers, came on board, and took an inventory of all the stores and property we had on board; we then pushed off, but were immediately challenged by a Major Flaharty, with about thirty armed men, in a keel-boat, who ordered us to put on shore. Being told that his Colonel was in the rear, and that it was by his sanction we put off, he left, and troubled us no more. That night we put on shore at the Petit Gulf, on the Louisiana side; Major Flaharty and party immediately opposite, on the other side.

20*th.*—This day, about ten o'clock, in consequence of a very bad landing, we thought proper to remove our boats up the river, which we effected. This day several boats trading to New Orleans were stopped by Major Flaharty and party, examined, and permitted to proceed.

[*The rest of this Journal is in the handwriting of Harman Blennerhassett.*]

In the evening the Major visited H. B.; professed friendly intentions, and a determination to join us, with the greater part of his regiment.

21*st.*—We received news of the approach of a Capt. Davison, with a party of horse, coming, under the orders of Col. Fitzpatrick, to search for concealed arms, supposed to have been secreted in the brush; during the night a party was sent out by —— to obviate *effectually* the success of the design.

22*d*.—This morning an altercation took place between Majors Floyd and Flaharty, which induced the former to address a letter to the latter in a sort of defiance. This measure having been taken without my approbation, I informed Major Floyd I would not co-operate with him in any acts he should enter into upon his letter or motives, but should, by myself and my party, resist such conduct on the part of Major Flaharty as I should deem improper, or as occasion required. Major Floyd, I believe, apprehending no attack or removal of our boats from their present station, seemed to yield to my observation, and in the morning made a visit to Major Flaharty, to engage with him in a shooting-match. On his return to the boats, he informed me that Major Flaharty, this evening, expected fresh orders from the Government, to enable him to move our boats down to Cole's Creek. Eleven o'clock at night, there were several shot fired from Major Flaharty's party on boats passing by to bring them to, but without effect. Damage to the boats or their men unknown. This morning Col. Comfort Tyler was taken from his boats, by an escort of the militia, to appear before the Governor at Washington, the seat of the Territorial Government, about thirty miles from our station. The officer, Capt. Davison, who made the requisition to Col. Tyler, observed to him that he had no warrant. Col. Tyler agreed to the Governor's wishes without that requisite. This day Major Flaharty, who can neither read or write, and is not a magistrate, informed me that he had taken and forwarded to the Governor the affidavit of a man, who deposed before him, that he had seen, fifty miles above our present position in the Petit Gulf, thirteen of Col. Burr's boats containing arms and ammunition, with an unusual number of men. During several days past, some individuals of our party have been obliged, at Washington, to undergo examination, and enter into recognizance to testify, on the part of the United States, against A. B. at the next federal court, to be held on the first Monday in February.

About ten o'clock this morning, Major Floyd communicated to me the following letter, received by Capt. Burney from Major Flaharty:

January 23*d*, 1807.

SIR:—Not wishing to go to rash measures, I have to inform you that I must comply with the orders of the commander-in-chief, if you keep your present position; and, as I am certain that it can't be injurious to yourself nor any of the people with you, I wish you to move opposite the mouth of Cole's Creek, where the communication is more convenient for you and me. You mentioned in your letter to me, yesterday, that you did not wish to put the militia to any more trouble. Your compliance will save the march of two companies that are ready to join me, if called on.

I am, with much esteem,

Yours, etc.,
JACOB FLAHARTY,
Major, 2d Regiment.

MAJOR FLOYD.

On perusal of the above letter, which Flaharty could not write, I acquainted Major Floyd that if it was worthy of credit in the intimation it held out of the orders of the commander-in-chief, and the truth of his menaced reinforcements of two companies, it might as well answer our present views and situation to comply as to adhere to the determination expressed yesterday, of maintaining our present position; that, on the other hand, the Governor would be as responsible to us and the law for any impropriety of conduct toward us by the militia, as for any other acts of authority unduly exercised toward us. I therefore suggested to him the substance of the following letter in reply to Flaharty:

PETIT GULF, *January 23d*, 1807.

SIR:—Your communication, by the hands of Capt. Burney, I just now had the honor of receiving. You mention your wish for us to move to the mouth of Cole's Creek; the request I would take a pleasure in complying with, had not Col. Burr directed me to stay where we now are until his further commands. I do expect to have a messenger from Col. Burr to-day, perhaps time enough to move down this evening. At all events, we will determine, to-morrow morning (23d), what step will be proper for us to take. Report says, the officer commanding the district opposite you is determined to prevent the commanding officer of the Mississippi Territory from interfering with the jurisdiction of the Territory of Orleans. This report, if true, may be proper for you to be informed of. At all events, we are awaiting a legal investigation into our conduct; and I contend that, during that investigation, and while we are, properly speaking, in the hands of its authority, the military law has no right to interfere. I am,

Respectfully, etc.,

DAVIS FLOYD.

MAJOR FLAHARTY.

This letter, by means of the unfounded suggestion, submitted to Major Floyd, of the jealousy of the people on the Louisiana side, of any encroachments on their jurisdiction, or by other matter it contained, prevented Flaharty from carrying his declarations into effect, if he really had authority under orders from the Governor so to do; and he was removed from his post opposite to us the following morning (24th), on the arrival of Col. Fitzpatrick, who substituted only a party of ten men, under the command of Capt. Abrams, with orders to board boats civilly, without firing upon them, and seize only such arms and ammunition as they might contain. Col. Burr, this day, returned to the boats from Washington, where he had remained since the 17th under a voluntary submission to the civil authority, which had been exacted of him at Cole's Creek, on his reception there on the 17th by Mead, at the head of five or six hundred of the militia, half armed and generally discontented, in disregard of the

connection that had been entered into by Mead and himself. The Acting-Governor, it now appeared, had threatened him with all the armed force of the country unless he submitted. No securities, however, were required for his appearance at the adjourned Federal Court, to be holden on the first Monday in February. His own single recognizance was taken, in the sum of —— dollars. Accordingly, his return to the boats was free. I soon heard from him that Mr. Mead had received dispatches announcing the statements by Flaharty of what had passed between him and Major Floyd, which so exasperated the Governor, that he threatened to have Floyd brought to him in irons, but was induced to retract his menaces on learning Flaharty's character to be fraught with the utmost ignorance and assurance, while Major Floyd's temper was both mild and amiable. Col. Burr also acquainted me with the indignation the Federal Judge, Rodney, had expressed at the exercise of the military law over Col. Burr and his friends, both in the Mississippi and Orleans Territories; the Judge assuring him, in opposition to the U. S. Attorney, Mr. Poindexter, that the civil authority of the Territory was competent to try him; adding, at the same time, that if Wilkinson, or any other military force, should attempt to remove his person out of the Mississippi Territory, prior to his trial, he, the Judge, would again, as he expressed it, put on old "'76," and march out in support of Col. Burr and the Constitution. This day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, my family arrived in the boat of Mr. Thomas Butler, who, having, on his way from Pittsburgh, called to take them on board at my house, on the Ohio, there underwent, with eight or ten other gentlemen, a captivity for three days, diversified in its scenes by a mock trial, in my hall, alternate insult and plunder, committed in common on them, my family and property, in a variety of particulars, for which I refer to Mr. Neville's journal.

25*th*.—Nothing material occurred till eight o'clock at night, when we cast off to drop down about twenty-six miles, to Cole's Creek, opposite which we took another station on the Orleans shore. Here we remained, without any material prospect of a change in our affairs, till the 27th, when we heard that intelligence had reached Mississippi Territory that Col. B.'s drafts on New York had been protested, and that Gov. Williams, who had returned to resume the functions of his office in the Mississippi Territory, was reported to be friendly disposed toward us. Col. B. determined to visit the Governor, and set out next morning (28th) for that purpose, and to prepare, probably, for his trial on the following Monday. Reports now reached us of the near approach to Natchez of a division of nine or ten gun-boats, under the command of Commodore Shaw, bearing a special order from the "Secretary of the Navy" to take Col. Burr, or the next in command under him, and to take or destroy all the boats under his command. By this time the effects of general disorder and want of regulation in the use or distribution of liquors and provisions, with a total disregard of all pretense at authority whenever attempted to be assumed by superiors,

which had long since manifested themselves throughout all our numbers, now openly broke out among particular leaders, who even threatened to turn out of their boats the provisions, in payment for the demands of some of the men who had become discontented and threatened to leave us.

29*th*.—Nothing occurred till 2d of February, when the Court at Washington had not that day charged the grand jury, who, of course, had not found any bill against Col. Burr, owing to objections, I suppose, made by the Attorney-General, to the jurisdiction of the Court over actions done by Col. Burr, without the limits of their Territory. Next day (Feb. 3d), Mr. N. brought me intelligence of the arrival of Graham at Washington, and of his having had an interview with Col. Burr.

CHAPTER IX.

Morgan Neville and William Robinson, jun., with a party of fourteen young men, early in December, embarked from Pittsburgh, in a flat-boat. Most of these were sons of gentlemen of affluence and ease, who knew but little of the realities of life, farther than was learned within the walls of an academy.

They had proceeded down the river, as far as Parkersburg, when their boat was driven on the shore by the ice during the night, and they were espied by the Wood county militia, and the whole party arrested as accomplices of Burr.

With "savage magnificence," they were escorted to the island, to await the return of Col. Phelps, who was then absent, at Point Pleasant, in an ineffectual attempt to arrest Blennerhassett. Somewhat chagrined at their luckless adventure, so far, the young men endeavored to pass their time as pleasantly as possible, by ridiculing the militia, and threatening them with the strong arm of the law.

But the intrepid captors were not to be deterred from duty. They parried the sarcasm of their adversaries, and occasionally retorted with considerable effect. The impertinence of the captives, at length, becoming insupportable, three justices of the peace were sent for, to

institute an examination into the facts, to commit for further trial, or acquit, the young men, as the evidence might warrant.

They were accordingly arraigned, and, after a full investigation of the facts, mostly upon the evidence of the young men themselves, the court acquitted them of all hostile designs against the United States.

"During the trial, the mob-spirit of the militia began to run riot, and, by the time it was ended, all was confusion. The well-stored cellars of the mansion began to pour forth their riches; drunkenness ensued; fences were torn down, to pile upon the blazing fire of the sentinels; the shrubbery was trampled under foot."

In the midst of this scene of confusion, Mrs. Blennerhassett returned from her unsuccessful visit to Marietta, whither she had gone to procure the family boat of Blennerhassett. A scene of such desolation and ruin of all that was fair and beautiful, and around which her young affections had clung with fond associations, was calculated to crush a heart whose native character was remarkable for its strong attachments to the objects of its love; but she had long since resigned her beautiful abode, for the more tempting lands which her imagination had dressed in fancy's brightest colors, where serener skies and gayer flowers "shed their mingled delights" over the perennial green of nature's bosom. The successful issue of the expedition was to her a matter of weightier moment than all other considerations; and, thus it was, she remained unmoved amid the general wreck of her fair possessions, by the ruthless mob.

Her situation, however, was one of painful embarrassment. Blennerhassett, having departed in haste, without making arrangements for her voyage, and the refusal of the authorities, at Marietta, to deliver her the boat, constructed for that especial purpose, left her, for a time, in almost hopeless despair of joining her husband at the appointed place. The weather had been intensely cold, and the fast-accumulating ice, in the Ohio, appeared to forbid a re-union with Blennerhassett until the following spring, when, in all probability, she could only find him in the Spanish dominions. It was, therefore, with feelings of mingled gratitude and pleasure that she accepted the proffer of a room in the boat of Thomas Butler, one of the young men, who promised to make the accommodations as comfortable to herself and children as the circumstances of her situation would permit.

During the course of the evening, Col. Phelps returned from his tour across the country. In this unexpected arrival, the young men had new cause of anxiety and alarm. They had congratulated themselves upon their successful defeat of the functionaries of the law, which they attributed mainly to their superior tact in mystify ing their judges, and intimidating their accusers; but here was one who could not be duped by sophistical reasoning, or swerved from his duty by the fear of consequences. Although dressed in the usual style of the backwoodsmen of that day, the careless manner in which he wore his garb added gracefulness to a form both attractive and commanding. They recognized in him, an individual of physical as well as intellectual superi

ority, and therefore wisely concluded to assume a different bearing from that they before had observed toward their captors and judges.*

In a thoughtful and classic attitude, he surveyed the destruction of the premises, and the evident marks of bacchanalian revelry, by which the party under his command had disgraced themselves; then, turning upon them a look of withering rebuke, he spoke in such terms of indignation as caused them to shrink with fear and trepidation. "Shame! men," he exclaimed; "shame on such conduct! You have disgraced your district, and the cause in which you are concerned!"

To the party of strangers, however, he was courteous and attentive. They soon ascertained that they had no cause to apprehend the frustration of their plans by Col. Phelps; indeed, so far from that, he willingly acceded to their wishes, in permitting the departure of Mrs. Blennerhassett, and proffered his services, in accelerating her arrangements to go to her husband, who, he said, he knew could never return to her. To Mrs. Blennerhassett he expressed his deep sense of mortification, for the riot-

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* The following anecdote of him, related by General Cass, in his work styled "France, its King, Court and Government," is perfectly characteristic. He says:

"I recollect a similar incident, which took place in a small village upon the banks of the Ohio. The court was in session, and the presiding officer was a Colonel P———, a man of great resolution, and of herculean frame. A person entered the court *cabin*, and, by his noise, put a stop to the proceedings. He was ordered out, and the sheriff attempted to remove him: but he put himself upon his *reserved rights*, and made such a vigorous resistance that the officer retired from the contest. Colonel P———, thereupon, descended from the bench, coolly took off his coat, gave the brawler a severe beating, and, after putting him out of his house, resumed his garment and his seat, and continued his judicial functions."

ous acts of his misguided men, and assured her, of what she was already aware, that if he had been present, the shameful act would not have occurred.

"Early next morning, Mrs. Blennerhassett commenced her preparations for a final farewell of the island Eden, where, for eight years, she had been the presiding genius. Her energy and zeal were such, that, in a few hours, she took possession of the humble chamber prepared for her in the boat, and, by the assistance of Col. Phelps, who rivaled the young men in courtesy, the necessary stores and furniture were embarked. On the 17th day of December, the boat swung from the shore, lashed to another of the same class, belonging to A. W. Putnam, of Belpré."

In the latter part of December, they passed the mouth of the Cumberland, where it was expected she would join her husband; but, as we before have shown, he had passed out of the Ohio into the waters of the rapid Mississippi, and moored at the entrance of Bayou Pierre. Early in January, she was restored, with her children, to Blennerhassett, who received them with that deep-felt affection which a parent and husband can only appreciate.

The situation of Burr and Blennerhassett had now become one of painful anxiety. It was evident, from surrounding circumstances, that the strong hands of the general and State governments had become too powerful for the small forces under their command. Burr saw that he was the "victim of bad faith." Those who had favored the enterprise at first, and gave him to understand that their aid could be relied on, abandoned their designs, upon the issuing of the President's proclamation. The authorities of the States and Territories bordering on the

Ohio and Mississippi rivers had ordered out the militia, for the apprehension of the parties; and, from Pittsburgh to the Gulf, the most rigid measures had been adopted, to give an effectual check to the further progress of the expedition.

As for Blennerhassett, his situation was cheerless in the extreme. For Burr, had he abandoned his home with all its endearments, his books, his studies, his property, and, withal, was deeply involved for debts contracted for the enterprise. As if the furies were not yet satiated in their revenge, he was hunted and pursued, as a malefactor, and momentarily expected the chilling touch of the officer of the law, to summon him to justice.

On a dark and dreary night, in the month of January, as the flotilla pushed slowly from the landing at Petit Gulf, might have been observed the master-spirit of the expedition, seated on a rough stool, in the inclement cabin of a flat-boat, lighted only by the cheerless rays of a solitary candle, and the decaying embers of a rudely-constructed fireplace. With his face buried in his hands, while his elbows rested on a table of unplaned boards, he who had heretofore braved the disappointments which had attended his undertaking, with a fortitude that astonished, while it gave confidence to, his followers, now sat gloomy and dejected. Upon what he mused is beyond human ken; but, starting suddenly from his revery, he caught up an axe, and directed his attendant to make an opening in the side of the boat. Through this, in the silence of the night, when he supposed there was none to witness, the chests of arms for the expedition were silently sunk beneath the waters of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER X.

Cowles Mead, secretary of the Mississippi Territory, performing the duties of Governor, had, on the third day of December, 1806, issued his proclamation for the arrest of "the Burr conspirators;" and, at the same time, calling on the officers of the Government to take the oath of fidelity to the United States. To this proclamation, Burr, on the 12th of January, 1807, replied in a letter of some length, in which he disavowed any designs hostile to the tranquillity of the country, stating that his only object was a peaceable settlement of the lands of his new purchase. "If the alarm which has been excited," he remarks, "should not be appeased by this declaration, I invite my fellow-citizens to visit me at this place (Bayou Pierre), and to receive from me, in person, such further explanations as may be necessary to their satisfaction, presuming that when my views are understood, they will receive the countenance of all good men." This letter, he requested, might be read to the militia, who, he understood, were assembled for his arrest.

Having moved his boats to the western margin of the Mississippi river, a short distance below Bayou Pierre, he was visited by George Poindexter, Esq., the Attorney General of the Territory, who had been appointed by Mead as an honorary aid-de-camp for the arrest of the

parties. The object of this visit was to gain correct information as to the situation of Burr; to ascertain his views, so far as they might be communicated; and to procure his peaceful surrender to the civil authorities.

Major Shields, who accompanied Poindexter, delivered to Burr the following letter from the Acting-Governor:

WASHINGTON, *January 15th*, 1807.

SIR:—Your approach to this country has excited not only the apprehensions of the General Government, but alarmed, in a high degree, the good citizens of this Territory. From these causes I have ordered my militia to rendezvous at such places as will enable them to guard this Territory against any design inimical to this government; but having heard, through Col. Waldridge, that you profess perfect innocence of the views charged to you, I have thought proper to send to you a confidential aid-de-camp, to receive from you such information on this subject as you may please to make. He will communicate freely with you, and you may implicitly confide in every assurance which he may make in my name. I have the honor to be,

Your humble servant,

COWLES MEAD.

To Col. A. Burr.

P. S. The gentleman attending Major Shields, is an honorary aid, and one who likewise possesses my fullest confidence. Mr. Poindexter, though a high civil officer, visits you as my aid. Yours, etc.,

COWLES MEAD.

The sentence relating to guarding the Territory against any designs inimical to the Government, Burr repeated with a sneer, adding that he had no intention to injure the citizens of the United States. "As to any projects or plans," he continued, "which may have been formed between General Wilkinson and myself, heretofore, they are now completely frustrated by the perfidious conduct of Wilkinson; and the world must pronounce him a perfidious villain. If I am sacrificed, my portfolio will prove him to be such." He stated further, that, so far from having any designs hostile to the citizens of the United States, he intended to have met Mr. Mead, at Port Gibson, on the day of the general muster, which happened at that place about the time of his arrival at Bayou Pierre; but was deterred from so doing, by the belief that he would be assassinated, if seen passing through the Territory.

Mr. Poindexter then requested him to surrender himself peaceably to the civil authorities; stating that, unless he did, the Governor would certainly arrest him by force. Burr declared his willingness at all times to submit, and proposed that an interview should take place between himself and the Acting-Governor, at some convenient place, on the next day; claiming protection from personal violence in the mean time.

Stipulations were entered into, by which it was agreed that Burr should be returned to his boats, if Mead should not accept of his surrender; that his flotilla should remain in the position it then occupied, until after the proposed interview should have taken place; and that, in

the mean while, his men should commit no breach of the peace, or violate any law of the United States or Mississippi Territory. The place designated for the conference was the house of Thomas Calvert, a respectable citizen of the Territory, who resided near the mouth of Cole's Creek, where the detachment of militia which descended the river was stationed.

Burr, accordingly, on the seventeenth day of January, dropped down the river as far as Thomas Calvert's, accompanied by Col. Fitzpatrick, who directed him to be taken in charge by Captain Davidson's company of dragoons. Here he was joined, according to appointment, by Mead; when further stipulations were required as to the terms of his surrender. These were, *first*, that the agreement entered into, for the purpose of procuring that interview, should be declared void. *Secondly*, that Burr should give himself up, unconditionally, to the civil authority. And, *thirdly*, that his boats should be searched, and all military stores and apparatus found on board be disposed of, as the Executive should think fit.

To these terms, the Acting-Governor required Burr's unequivocal reply, in *fifteen minutes;* and, if not agreed to, he was to be instantly returned to his boats, and the militia ordered to seize the whole party by force.

As there was no chance of escape, the conditions were accepted of and carried into effect. Burr declared his unwillingness to fall into the hands of Wilkinson, and requested, if any attempt should be made to arrest him by a military force from New Orleans, that it might be opposed. He was conducted to the town of Washington,

where he was delivered over to the custody of the law, and the examination of the witnesses immediately commenced before Judge Rodney.

Mr. Poindexter was called on, in his official capacity as attorney-general, to give his written opinion as to the course which ought to be pursued. He, accordingly, furnished an able argument against any attempt to try the accused in the courts of the Territory. He stated that they had no evidence to convict him of any offense committed in Mississippi; that the Supreme Court of the Territory, to which a jury was about to be summoned, had no original jurisdiction of any prosecution, and could only take cognizance of law reserved at the trial in the Circuit Court. It was his opinion, therefore, that Burr should be sent to the city of Washington, where the Supreme Court of the United States would be in session; and the judges, attending from every part of the Union, could direct him to be tried in the District, where, from the evidence, it might appear that an overt act of treason had been committed.

But Judge Rodney thought differently; and a *venire facias* was issued, requiring the attendance of seventy-six jurors, at an adjourned session of the Supreme Court of the Mississippi Territory, to be held in February. From the number attending, at the appointed time, a grand jury of twenty-three persons was selected, who received a charge from the judge and were adjourned until the next day.

The following morning, a motion was made, by the attorney-general, to discharge the grand jury; *first*, because the court did not possess original jurisdiction in any

case; *secondly*, because the depositions, submitted to his inspection, did not furnish sufficient evidence to convict Burr of the offenses with which he was charged, so as to bring them within the Mississippi Territory; and, *thirdly*, that a warrant might issue, transmitting the accused to a court having competent jurisdiction, to try and punish him, if guilty of the crime alleged against him. The court being divided on this motion, it was, in consequence, overruled, and the grand jury retired. The attorney-general, thereupon, determined to prefer no indictment, and left the court-room.

In the afternoon the jury returned with the following presentments:

"The grand jury of the Mississippi Territory, on a due investigation of the evidence brought before them, are of opinion that Aaron Burr has not been guilty of any crime or misdemeanor against the laws of the United States, or of this Territory; or given any just cause of alarm or inquietude to the good people of the same.

"The grand jurors present, as a grievance, the late military expedition, unnecessarily, as they conceive, fitted out against the person and property of the said Aaron Burr, when no resistance had been made to the civil authorities.

"The grand jurors also present, as a grievance, destructive of personal liberty, the late military arrests,* made without warrant, and, as they conceive, without other lawful authority; and they do sincerely regret that so much cause has been given to the enemies of our glorious

* The arrests of Bollman, Swartwout, Ogden and others, at New Orleans, on suspicion of being engaged in the expedition.

Constitution, to rejoice at such measures being adopted, in a neighboring Territory, as, if sanctioned by the Executive of our country, must sap the vitals of our political existence, and crumble this glorious fabric in the dust."

The attorney-general declared his astonishment at such unwarrantable presentments by the grand jury, and, informing the court that he should take no notice of them, retired. Judge Rodney strongly reprobated such conduct on the part of the jury, and, after rating them in no very mild terms, dismissed them without delay.

In the evening of the day on which the court sat, Burr visited the house of Colonel Osborne. He had asked to be discharged from his recognizance, as he had fully complied with its terms; but, learning that it was the intention of Gov. Williams to seize on his person the moment he was discharged by judicial authority, he requested John Dana, one of his force from Belpré, with two others, to convey him, in a boat, to a point about twenty miles from Bayou Pierre, whence he could escape across the country.

Before leaving, he hastily advised Mrs. Blennerhassett of the result of the investigation, as follows:

WASHINGTON, *January* 31*st*, 1807.

MRS. M. BLENNERHASSETT:

Our persons and our property are safe from violence and from pursuit. It is with regret and mortification that I acknowledge, that, at present, nothing more can be said; yet there is reason to hope for something more, for *permission* (how humiliating!) to go on to Washita.

My presence is necessary here, and will be so for three

or four days. The separation from my friends is extremely irksome and painful. Adieu. A. BURR.

Procuring a boatman's dress, in which to disguise himself, he proceeded on his tour. Upon hearing of his escape, Williams issued a proclamation, offering two thousand dollars for his apprehension and safe delivery to the proper authorities. A few days afterward, a negro boy was discovered near the mouth of Cole's Creek, opposite which the boats were stationed, riding on a horse which belonged to Burr, and having on his surtout coat. These circumstances created a suspicion; the boy was searched, and, sowed up in the cape of his coat, was found a note to the following effect:

"If you are yet together, keep so, and I will join you to-morrow night. In the mean while, put all your arms in perfect order. Ask no questions of the bearer, but tell him all you may think I wish to know. He does not know that this is from me, nor where I am."

To C. T. and D. F.*

From Blennerhassett's journal it appears that, to add to their discomfiture, they learned that Burr's drafts on New York had been returned protested. General disorder reigned among his followers, who having indulged to excess in the use of ardent spirits, and witnessing the total destruction of his enterprise, had thrown off all authority, and threatened to appropriate the supplies in compensation for their wages.

In consequence of the discovery of Burr's letter to

* Comfort Tyler and Davis Floyd.

Tyler and Floyd, the men were arrested and placed under guard, where they were detained until the alarm was over. Many, if not all of them, were permitted occasionally to walk about, free of restraint, on their parole of honor.

In the mean while, several arrests of the supposed accomplices of Burr had been made at Fort Adams and New Orleans. Among the number were Bollman, Ogden, Swartwout, Adair, Dayton, Smith and Alexander, against whom the most rigid and unjustifiable authority had been exercised by General Wilkinson; in many cases upon bare suspicion, and without resistance at any time to civil authority. General Adair, who had arrived at New Orleans on the 10th of January, was besieged by one hundred and twenty men, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kingsbury, accompanied by one of Wilkinson's aids. They seized upon him while at dinner in a public-house, dragged him from the table, and conducted him to head-quarters, where he was placed in confinement, and secreted, until an opportunity offered to convey him away.* It was even attempted, in the Legislature of Louisiana, at the suggestion of the Governor,

* An Irish gentleman of wit and humor happened to be confined in prison for debt, when it was announced to him by one of the officials, that Gen. Adair was in the adjoining room. He immediately struck up in a full musical voice, to the tune of Robin Adair:

"Ye are welcome to Orleans,
Johnny Adair,—
Ye are welcome to Orleans,
Johnny Adair!
How does little Aaron do?—
And Irish Blanny, too?—
Why did'nt they come with you,
Johnny Adair!

to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*—that inestimable guarantee to the liberties of every American citizen, more effectually to aid the harsher application of military law and military dictation.

Toward the writs of *habeas corpus*, issued by the courts, to bring the accused parties before them, Wilkinson observed the most profound contempt. So ineffectual was the process of the courts, in bringing either the prisoners or Wilkinson before them, that Judge Workman recommended to the Governor, that Wilkinson should be opposed by force of arms. He stated that the violent measures of that officer had produced great discontent, alarm and agitation in the public mind; and unless such proceedings were effectually opposed, all confidence in Government would be at an end. He urged the Governor to revoke the order, by which he had placed the Orleans volunteers under Wilkinson's command, and to call out and arm the rest of the militia as soon as possible. He stated it as his opinion, that an army would not oppose the civil power, when constitutionally brought forth, or that if they did, the Governor might soon have men enough to render the opposition ineffectual.*

No satisfactory answer having been made to Workman by the Governor, he again addressed him on the subject. It was notorious, he remarked, that the commander-in-chief of the military forces had, by his own authority, arrested several citizens for civil offenses, and avowed on record, that he had adopted means to send them out of the Territory, openly declaring his determination to usurp

* Martin's History of Louisiana.

the functions of the judiciary, by making himself the only judge of the guilt of the persons he suspected, and asserting in the same manner, and without contradiction, that his measures were taken after several consultations with the Governor.

Although a common case would not require the step he was taking, yet he deemed it his duty, before any decisive measure was pursued against him, who had all the regular force, and, in pursuance of the Governor's public orders, a great part of the Territory at his disposal, to ask whether the executive had the ability to enforce the decrees of the court of the county; and if he had, whether he would deem it expedient to do it in the present instance; or whether the allegations, by which Wilkinson supported the violent measures, were well founded.

"Not only the conduct and power of Wilkinson," he continued, "but various other circumstances peculiar to our present situation—the alarm excited in the public mind, the description and character of a large part of the population of the country—might render it dangerous in the highest degree to adopt the measure usual in ordinary cases, of calling to the aid of the sheriff the *posse comitatus*, unless it was done with the assurance of being supported by the Governor in an efficient manner."

The letter concluded by requesting a precise and speedy answer to the preceding inquiries, and an assurance that if certain of the Governor's support, the judge would forthwith punish, as the law directed, the contempt offered to the court. On the other hand, should the Governor think it impracticable to afford the required aid, the court and its officers would no longer remain

exposed to the contempt or insults of a man whom they were unable to punish or resist.

The same silence and indifference having been observed by the Governor toward the last, as toward his former communication, Workman resigned his office as he had before indicated.*

Burling, who had been sent to Mexico, returned, without having accomplished the object of his mission. It appears that, instead of his being sent "to penetrate the veil which concealed the topographical route to the city of Mexico, and the military defenses which intervened," as alleged by Wilkinson, he was, on the contrary, commissioned to display to the viceroy *the great pecuniary sacrifices* made by that general, to frustrate the plan of invasion meditated by the Ex-Vice-President against the kingdom of Mexico, and to solicit, in consideration of such important services, a pretty round sum of at least *two hundred thousand dollars*.†

Don Joseph de Yturrigaray received this communication with due contempt and indignation, bidding his interpreter to tell Mr. Burling that General Wilkinson, in counteracting any treasonable plan of Mr. Burr, did no more than comply with his duty; that he, the viceroy, would take good care to defend the kingdom of Mexico against any attack or invasion; and that he did not think himself authorized to give one farthing to Gen. Wilkinson, in compensation for his pretended services. He, thereupon, ordered Burling to leave the city of Mexico,

* Martin's History of Louisiana.

† Correspondence of Maria Ines Jauregui de Yturrigaray, Vice-queen. Davis's Life of Burr, vol. ii, p. 401.

and had him safely escorted to the port of Vera Cruz, where he embarked for New Orleans.

On the seventh of December, previous, Wilkinson had dispatched Lieutenant Swann, of the army, to Jamaica, with a letter to the officer commanding the naval force on that station, informing him of Burr's plans, and that a report was afloat that the aid of a British naval armament had been either promised or applied for: he therefore warned him, and all other British military and naval officers, that their interference, or any co-operation on their part, would be considered as highly injurious to the United States, and affecting the then present amicable relations between the two nations. The communication concluded with a hope, that the British government would refrain from any interference, and prevent individuals from affording aid to the enterprise; assuring him that the writer would, with all the force under his command, resist any effort of a foreign power to favor Burr's projects.

To this Admiral Drake replied, that, from the style and manner in which the communication was written, he was at a loss how to answer it; but begged him, Wilkinson, to be assured, that British ships of war would never be employed in any improper service, and that he should ever be ready most cheerfully to obey the orders of his sovereign. Sir Eyre Coote trusted, and sincerely believed, the representations made to Wilkinson were totally groundless, as his letter contained the only intelligence received on the subject.*

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* Martin's History of Louisiana.

Bollman and Swartwout were conducted to the city of Washington for trial. After having been imprisoned, for some time, on the charge of treason, as joint-conspirators with Burr, they were discharged from confinement, by order of the Supreme Court, as the evidence was not sufficient to retain them longer in custody.

Ogden and Alexander were transported to Baltimore, as accomplices in the same crime. The former of these was taken before a magistrate, in the city, and set at liberty for want of sufficient proof. The latter was released, in Washington, whither he had been recently conducted, because of the improper averment of the offense.

Blennerhassett, having learned that Graham, while in the vicinity of the island, had obtained the affidavit of Col. Phelps, which, among others, had been forwarded to the President, addressed him the following letter:

DOUGLAS FERRY, *Feb.* 24, 1807.

J. GRAHAM, ESQ.:

SIR:—Having heard, from respectable authority, that you have forwarded to the President an affidavit of Hugh Phelps, wherein he deposed that I had imparted to him certain views or objects, in which I participated with Col. Burr, hostile to the United States, or to some of the Spanish dominions, I am naturally led to inquire how far I may inflame or abate the persecution, with which I am honored by the Government or its agents, by proposing to you to forward another affidavit, to the same quarter, deposing that Col. Phelps had declared, soon after the only interview I had with him, that I did *not* communicate to him the object. I can not pretend to state the

facts that may appear on the face of the affidavits on either side, until such documents come forward, any more than the tenor of fifty other affidavits or testimonies I can procure from my neighbors of respectable character, who will testify to the very contrary of what Col. Phelps has done—men, all of them, possessing my good opinion, and believing Mr. Phelps is the last man in the world I would venture a secret with, if I had any.

Provided, sir, with such means of counteracting the evidence of Mr. Phelps, or any other that may be adduced against me, I can have no other solicitude for the issue of an arraignment any where than the intervening distress in which my family will be thereby involved. But as this nor any other consideration shall ever influence me to shrink from investigation, I now, sir, invite, through you, all the justice or persecution of the Government. Why, or how, I may have become personally obnoxious to them, or to yourself, the public may hereafter understand. But if I am singled out as an early victim or example, I shall wish not to be severed from my family, by being thrown on board a prison ship, while I tender security for my appearance at the city of Washington or elsewhere, whenever it may be required.

I request your answer, and with due consideration,

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

Blennerhassett was arrested and recognized to appear at the next District Court for the Territory of Mississippi, where we shall leave him for the present, to follow the fortunes of Burr.

CHAPTER XI.

LATE at night, about the last of February, Burr, with a companion, arrived at a small log tavern, in what is now the village of Wakefield, in Washington county, Alabama. Without alighting, he called at the door, and inquired of the inmates if Colonel Hinson resided in the neighborhood. Receiving for answer that he did, they further informed him that the house was seven miles distant; the road to be traveled, obscure and difficult; and a deep and turbid creek lay in the route. Nothing daunted, he eagerly sought information as to the forks, and directions as to crossing the stream. This having been communicated, he put spurs to his horse, leaving the observers involved in astonishment.

Near midnight, the glimmering of a light, through the distant trees, directed the travelers to the rude but comfortable quarters of Colonel Hinson. Having hailed and received no answer, they dismounted and entered the kitchen, where the remaining embers in the fireplace were soon kindled into a comfortable blaze. Seating himself before it, Burr left his companion to take charge of the horses, and had just begun to feel comfortable, when he was interrupted by a stranger, who, he concluded, had ridden till late to reach desirable lodgings. But in this he was mistaken. The real cause of his

appearance, at this unseasonable hour, originated in Burr's mysterious departure from the inn. As it afterward appeared, Colonel Nicholas Perkins observed, by the light of the fire, as Burr sat upon his horse, that, although he was coarsely dressed, yet he possessed a countenance of unusual intelligence; an eye of sparkling brilliancy; and a demeanor wholly unsuited to the garb he wore. The tidy boot, in particular, which his vanity could not surrender, with his other articles of finer clothing, attracted Perkins's attention, and led him to conclude that the gentleman before him was none other than the famous Colonel Burr, described in the proclamation of the Governor.

Perkins immediately started after Theodore Brightwell, the sheriff, who occupied an adjacent cabin; and, awakening him from his slumbers, hurriedly communicated the circumstances of the traveler's appearance, conversation and departure, and requested him to join him in the pursuit of the parties. Brightwell consented; and the two, mounting their horses, took the road to Hinson's. The night was cold and windy, and the moanings of the lofty pines, along the solitary road, rendered their journey gloomy and inauspicious. Still they pressed on; for the object of their pursuit was of no small importance, at that particular time, to the minions of the Government. As they arrived in sight of the illuminated dwelling, Perkins, recollecting that the travelers had seen him at the tavern, declined entering, but sent Brightwell, whom he requested to return to him, at a certain place in the woods, after he had ascertained whether or not the suspicious individual was Aaron Burr.

As Brightwell called at the door, his voice was recognized by Mrs. Hinson, who was his relative, and who until now had remained silent in another room, through fear of the strangers, in the absence of her husband. She soon prepared something to eat for her unknown guests. As Burr seated himself at the table, he thanked her, in the most courteous terms, for her kindness, and apologized for the trouble he had imposed upon her. His conversation was sprightly and agreeable, so much so, indeed, that Mrs. Hinson soon discovered that the gentleman and his attire did not correspond. His attention was often directed to Brightwell, who stood before the fire, and at whom he cast the keenest glances, evidently endeavoring to read his thoughts. A momentary separation having taken place during the night, between Burr and his companion, at the suggestion of Brightwell, the latter was asked by Mrs. Hinson if she had the honor of entertaining, as her guest, the celebrated Col. Burr. Fearing to make the disclosure, the man remained silent, and shortly after left the room.

Early in the morning, Burr privately communicated to Mrs. Hinson his real name, and regretted the absence of her husband, whom he had seen at Natchez, and with whom he had promised himself to remain a week; but that, as he was detected, he should prosecute his journey.

After inquiring the route to Pensacola, and Mrs. Carson's ferry on the Tombigbee, he called for writing materials, and indited several letters. His companion, who had been dispatched on the back route, for some purpose, returned about nine o'clock, and the two again set out for the "cut-off," not very far distant.

For some unaccountable reason, which has never yet been explained, Brightwell neglected to return to Perkins, whom he left highly excited and shivering in the cold. Having remained at his post until his patience was exhausted, and supposing that Brightwell, probably on account of the fascinations of Burr, or the pity which had seized him, in his behalf, had betrayed their plans, Perkins mounted his horse, and rode rapidly to the house of Joseph Bates, at Nannanhubby Bluff, to avoid the creek which intervened on the main route to Fort Stoddart. Here he was furnished with a canoe, and a negro to navigate it, and, descending the Tombigbee, arrived at the military station early in the morning. The late General Edmund P. Gaines was then the lieutenant in command. Perkins briefly acquainted him with the particulars of the preceding night's adventure, and of his suspicions, which, although of slight foundation, had nevertheless impressed him with solid convictions of truth. Placing himself at the head of a file of mounted soldiers, the lieutenant started in pursuit, accompanied by Perkins. They shortly encountered the object of their search, with his traveling companion, and the sheriff, Brightwell. The parties having met, Lieutenant Gaines accosted one of the strangers, remarking, that he presumed he had the honor of addressing Colonel Burr.

"I am a traveler," answered Burr, "and in a strange land, and do not recognize your right to ask such a question."

"I arrest you, at the instance of the United States," replied Gaines.

"By what authority do you arrest me, a stranger on the highway, on my own private business?"

The lieutenant then informed Burr that he was an officer of the United States army, and held in his hand the proclamation of the President, as well as that of the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, directing his arrest.

Burr asked him if he was aware of the responsibility of arresting a traveler; to which Gaines answered, that he was perfectly aware of his duties, in the premises, and should endeavor to perform them.

Burr then entered into a brief argument to show that these proclamations should never have been issued, and that in following their dictates, the lieutenant would be subjecting himself to much damage and blame. His manner was firm; his air majestic; and his language impressive; but the resolute young officer told him his mind was made up; the prisoner must accompany him to his quarters, where he would be treated with all the respect due the Ex-Vice-President of the United States, so long as he made no attempt to escape. He was then conducted toward Fort Stoddart, where the parties arrived in the evening, and an apartment being assigned the prisoner, he took his dinner alone.

Late at night, a groaning was heard in an adjoining room. Burr arose, opened the door, and ascertained that George S. Gaines was suffering from severe indisposition. He approached the sufferer's bed and kindly offered his services, as he had traveled much, and had some knowledge of medicine. They soon entered into a sprightly conversation in regard to the state of the country, and particularly on the subject of the Choctaw Indians, among whom Gaines lived, as United States factor. The next day, being introduced to the wife of the command-

ant, who was a daughter of the late Judge Toulman, Burr dined with the family, and enlivened the company with his wit and elegant discourse. In the evening, he played chess with Mrs. Gaines, with whom he was often a frequent competitor in that interesting game. Of nights, he sought the company of the invalid, who became exceedingly attached to his society. During their midnight conversations, how often would the good heart of his auditor grieve over the misfortunes of Burr. But it was a remarkable fact, that, as often and long as they were together, this unfortunate man never once alluded to his arrest, his troubles, or his future plans. From his early youth, it had been his custom to conceal things in relation to himself, and he always endeavored to throw an air of mystery over his acts.

After Burr had been secured, as a prisoner at Fort Stoddart, Perkins departed for Wakefield, and caused the arrest of his traveling companion, who proved to be Major Ashley. He was placed under a guard, from whom he escaped and made his way to Tennessee, where he afterward made himself serviceable to his friend, in collecting evidence in his behalf for the trial at Richmond.

Three weeks had passed away since the arrest of the distinguished prisoner, and still the lieutenant had been unable to convey him to the seat of the general government for trial. The difficulties were great, and, for a time, the undertaking appeared impracticable. In those days, there were comparatively no roads, no ferries, and few men could be found, in that sparsely-settled country, who would undertake a journey so long and perilous,

over savage lands. The inclemency of the weather, at that season of the year, added much to the unpleasantness of the tour, and, with many, formed an insuperable objection, as they must, necessarily, for want of houses of accommodation, be exposed, both night and day, to the vicissitudes of the month of March. At last, Burr left the fort, under guard, and proceeded, in a government boat, up the Alabama river, into the Tensaw lake, accompanied by Lieutenant Gaines, and stopped at the house of John Mills. The ladies of the house, seeing the strait to which Burr was reduced, wept, through sympathy for his misfortunes. One of the number, it is said, a Mrs. Johnson, named her son in honor of this distinguished individual. He is still alive, and is not the only boy bearing the name of "Aaron Burr" in the State of Mississippi. The ladies every where espoused his cause, in the south-western New World. It is a prominent and noble trait, in female character, to admire a man of daring and generous impulses, and to pity and defend him in his adversities.

At the boat-yard, in the present county of Baldwin, in the State of Alabama, the crew disembarked, where William and John Pierce (who introduced the first cotton gins into Alabama) had a trading establishment. Gaines gave the command of the guard to Perkins, and directed him to convey the prisoner to Washington city. His guard consisted of Thomas Malone, of Alabama, Henry B. Slade, of North Carolina, two McCormacks, of Kentucky, and two United States' soldiers. They were all men whom Perkins selected, and upon whom he could rely in any contingency. He took them aside, and ob-

tained the most solemn pledges, that, upon the whole route to Washington, they would hold no interviews with Burr, nor suffer him to escape alive. Perkins knew the fascinations of Burr, and he feared his familiarity with his men; indeed, he feared the same influences upon himself. His character, for making strong impressions upon the human mind, and attaching men to him by association, was well known to the world.

When Burr fled from the authorities in the Mississippi Territory, he had disguised himself in a boatman's dress. His pantaloons were of coarse, copperas-dyed cloth, with a roundabout of inferior drab. His hat, a flapping, wide-brim beaver, had, in times long past, been white, but now gave evidence of having encountered much rough weather. Placed upon his fine horse, he bestrode him most elegantly, and flashed his large, dark eyes, as though he were at the head of his New York regiment. Each man carried provisions for himself, and some for the prisoner. They were all well mounted, with no arms except pistols in holsters, and two muskets borne by the soldiers. On the last of February, they set out upon their long and perilous journey. Within a quarter of a mile from the point of departure, the dreadful massacre at Fort Mimms occurred six years after. Pursuing the Indian path, which led from the "'Bigby settlement" to Fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, they reached a point thirty miles distant the first day. At night, the only tent in the company was pitched for the prisoner, who reposed himself upon his blankets. The country abounded in immense pine forests. Here the Ex-Vice-President lay the first night,

before the blazing fire, which threw a glare over the dismal woods.

To what an extremity had he now been reduced! In the boundless wilds of Alabama, under a small and comfortless tent, amid the perils of Indian barbarities, with the cry of the panther, answered by the howl of the hungry wolf ringing in his ears; while the moaning of the winds through the tops of the lofty trees added dreariness to the solitude of the night; with none with whom to hold converse; surrounded by a guard to whom he dared not speak; a prisoner of the United States, for whose liberties he had fought, and whose Government he had helped to form; exiled from the State of his adoption, whose statutes and institutions bore the impress of his mind; deprived by death of his devoted wife; his only child then on a distant coast of Carolina; his professional pursuits abandoned, and his fortune swept away; the magnificent scheme of the conquest of Mexico uprooted, and the fragments dispersed; slandered and hunted down, from one end of the Union to the other; these were considerations sufficient to weigh down an ordinary individual, and sink him to an untimely grave. But his was no common mind; and the characteristic fortitude and determination which had ever marked his course, still sustained him in the darkest hour. In the morning, he arose cheerfully, and pursued his course. Although guarded with vigilance, his few wants were gratified, as far as they could be, and he was treated with respect and kindness. The trail being narrow and obscure, Burr rode in the middle, having a part of the

guard in front, while the rest followed behind, in single file. The route lay about eight miles south of the present city of Montgomery, then an Indian town called Eaconcharte—meaning *Red Ground.*

In the year 1811, General Wade Hampton cut out the "Federal Road" along this trail, which was well known to early settlers as the only highway in South Alabama. The guard passed by the site of the present Mount Meigs, and stopped at the house of "Old Milly," the former wife of a British soldier, who, with her husband, in 1770, left the barracks in Savannah and came to the Creek Nation. She had long been a resident of these wild woods, now lying in the county of Montgomery. Her husband, at this time a colored man, named Evans, was employed by Perkins to pilot the party across the dangerous creeks, Lime, Dubahatchee and Calabee, all of which they had to swim. It was a perilous and fatiguing march; and, for days, the rain descended in chilling torrents on those unsheltered horsemen, collecting in rivulets and swimming them at every point. Hundreds of Indians thronged the trail, and the party could have been shot down; but the fearless Perkins bore on his distinguished prisoner, amid angry elements and human foes. In their journey through Alabama, they always slept in the woods, near swamps of reeds, upon which the belled and hobbled horses fed during the night. After a hastily-prepared breakfast, it was their custom again to remount, and march on, in gloomy silence, which was but occasionally broken by a remark about the weather, the creeks, or the horses. Burr was a splendid rider, sitting firmly in the saddle, and ever on the alert. He was

always a hardy traveler, and although wet for hours, with cold and drizzling rains, riding forty miles a day, and at night stretched upon the bare ground, on a thin pallet, yet, in the whole distance to Richmond, he was never heard to say that he was sick, or even fatigued. At the Chattahoochie, was a crossing-place, owned by an Indian named Marshall. The effects of the expedition were carried over in canoes, while the horses swam alongside. In this manner they passed the Flint and Ocmulgee. At Fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, they entered the first ferry-boat they had seen on the whole route. A few miles further on, they were sheltered by the first civilized roof—a house of entertainment, kept by one Bevin. While breakfast was preparing, and the guard were seated around a large fire, the host, like all publicans on the highway, inquired from whence they came. As they were from the "'Bigby settlements," he immediately fell on the fruitful theme of the *traitor*, Aaron Burr. He asked if he had been taken? "Was he not a very bad man?" "Was n't everybody afraid of him?" Perkins and his party were very much annoyed and embarrassed, and made no reply. Burr was sitting in a corner by the fire, with his head down; and, after listening to the inquisitiveness of Bevin until he could endure it no longer, he raised himself up, and, planting his fiery eyes upon him, said:

"I am Aaron Burr; what is it you want with me?"

Bevin, struck with his appearance, the keenness of his look, and the solemnity and dignity of his manner, stood aghast, and trembled like a leaf. He uttered not another word while the guard remained at his house.

When Perkins reached the confines of South Carolina, he watched Burr more closely than ever; for in this State lived the son-in-law of Burr, Col. Alston, a gentleman of talents, wealth and influence, and afterward Governor of the State. Upon reaching the frontiers of Georgia, he endeavored to convey the prisoner in by-roads, to avoid the towns, lest he should be rescued. The plan was attended with difficulty; they were lost often; the march impeded; and the highway was again resumed. Before entering the town of Chester, in South Carolina, the party halted. Two men were placed before Burr; two on either side, and two behind; and, in this manner, they passed near a tavern on the street, where many persons were standing; while music and dancing were heard in the house. Burr conceived it a favorable opportunity for escape; and, suddenly dismounting, exclaimed:

"I am Aaron Burr, under military arrest, and claim protection of the civil authorities!"

Perkins leaped from his horse, with several of his men, and ordered him to remount.

"*I will not!*" replied Burr.

Not wishing to shoot him, Perkins threw down his pistols, and, being a man of prodigious strength, and the prisoner a small man, seized him around the waist and placed him in his saddle, as though he was a child. Thomas Malone caught the reins of the bridle, slipped them over the horse's head, and led him rapidly on. The astonished citizens had seen a party enter their village with a prisoner; had heard him appeal to them for protection; had witnessed the feat of Perkins; and the party vanished, before they had time to recover from

their confusion; for, when Burr dismounted, the guards cocked their pistols, and the people ran within the piazza to escape from danger.

Burr was still, to some extent, popular in South Carolina; and any wavering or timidity on the part of Perkins would have lost him his prisoner; but the celerity of his movements gave no time for the people to reflect, before he was far in the outskirts of the village. Here the guard halted. Burr was highly excited; he was in tears! The kind-hearted Malone also wept at seeing the uncontrollable despondency of him who hitherto had proven almost iron-hearted. It was the first time any one had ever seen Aaron Burr unmanned.

The guard becoming very much alarmed on the subject of Burr's rescue, Malone and Henry advised the purchase of a carriage. The former took charge of the guard, while Perkins returned and purchased a gig. The next day, Burr was placed in a vehicle, and driven, without further incident, to Fredericksburg, Virginia. Here Perkins received dispatches from the President, requiring him to convey the prisoner to Richmond. The guard took the stage, and soon reached that place. The ladies of the city vied with each other in contributing to the comfort of Burr. Some sent him fruit; some clothes; some wine; some one thing; some another. Perkins and his men went to Washington; were paid for their services, and returned to Alabama, by way of Tennessee.*

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* The foregoing incidents are taken from Pickett's History of Alabama. With but few exceptions, I have followed nearly the exact language of the author.

Col. Alston, finding himself deeply implicated by the proclamation of the President, and mortified at the indiscretion of Col. Burr, to release himself of the suspicion which rested upon him, promptly addressed the following communication to his Excellency Charles Pinckney, then Governor of South Carolina:

OAKS, *February* 6th, 1807.

DEAR SIR:—I have received and read the President's Message with deep mortification and concern; but the letter annexed to it, stated to be *a communication in cyphers* from Col. Burr to Gen. Wilkinson, excites my unfeigned astonishment. I solemnly avow that, when that letter was written, I had never heard, directly or indirectly, from Col. Burr, or any other person, of the meditated attack on New Orleans; nor had I any more reason to *suspect* an attack on that place, or any other part of the United States, than I have at this moment to suspect that our militia will be forthwith ordered on an expedition against *Gibraltar*. On the other hand, I had long had strong grounds for believing that Col. Burr was engaged by other objects, of a very different nature from those attributed to him, and which I confess the best sentiments of my heart approved. I need not add that those objects involved not the interests of my country. Without adverting to that integrity of principle, which even my enemies, I trust, have allowed me, can it be supposed that a man situated as I am—descended from a family which has never known dishonor, happy in the affection and esteem of a large number of relations and friends, possessed of ample fortune, and standing high in

the confidence of his fellow-citizens—could harbor, for an instant, a thought injurious to the country which was the scene of those blessings? The supposition would be monstrous. No, sir; it was but a short period before the impression became *general*, that apprehended the *possibility* of Mr. Burr's intentions being hostile to the Union; and the moment which gave birth to that apprehension, gave birth to the resolution which became a citizen. I confess, however, there are times even now, when, in spite of the strong facts which have been exhibited, I am almost inclined to believe my suspicions injurious. Whatever may be thought of the *heart* of Mr. Burr, his *talents* are great beyond question, and to reconcile with such talents, the chimerical project of dismembering the Union, or wresting from it any part of its Territory, is difficult indeed. I traveled through a part of the western country, during the last summer, and have no hesitation in saying, that either of those projects would have been as much reprobated there as in the Atlantic States. With respect, however, to the communication annexed to the President's Message, which occasions you the trouble of this letter: after my solemn assurances to you that I had never given Col. Burr, or any other person, the smallest reason to imagine that I could be induced to engage in any project against my country, it would be infinitely satisfactory to me, could I explain to you, with the same *certainty*, the *motive* which led him to introduce my name as he did. But here, unfortunately, all is conjecture. Two motives only suggest themselves. He imagined, perhaps—which, by the way, he has no right to do—that his influence would be sufficiently great to induce my

assent, and thought, therefore, he might as well consider it already obtained; or, which is more probable, he might have imagined, that by the apparent concert *of a number of persons from different States, a stronger impression would be made on his correspondent.* Considerable *effect*, too, was, no doubt, anticipated by Mr. Burr's discernment from the perfect *self-confidence* which would have been manifested by his taking with him his *daughter*, receiving my co-operation, and thus embarking in the scheme the fortunes of his infant *grandson*, the only relative, except his daughter, that he has. But whatever the *motive* which drew from Col. Burr the expressions contained in this letter to Gen. Wilkinson, *facts, incontrovertible facts*, prove that he had no authority for making them. His daughter *did not go with him;* the navy of the United States *is still faithful to its duty;* Commodore Truxton, I am told, at the very moment he was said to have gone to the West Indies, *was in Philadelphia*, which I know not whether he has ever left; and I, instead of following with *a corps of worthies, am now at my usual residence, where I have been ever since the adjournment of the Legislature*, peaceably directing the plowing of my rice-fields, and preparing my lands for the ensuing crop. This is conclusive. A conspirator against the happiness and liberties of his country would have been, at this moment, very differently employed. Conspirator! the blood now burns my cheek, as I write the word. But I meant to confine myself simply to the disavowal I have made you, of a single action or word hostile to my country. To feel even that disavowal necessary is sufficiently painful: I have yielded, however, to circumstances, and made it.

My unequivocal manner of making it, I trust, will not leave a doubt upon one candid or honest mind. Still I am aware that the common interchange of good offices with a man with whom I have been long nearly connected, may have given rise to circumstances which, however innocent in themselves, malignity will delight in distorting, and the illiberal among my political adversaries exult in disseminating. I am aware that there will be men base enough; for you and I have, *not long since*, seen proofs of it, to whisper even the circumstance of my connection, by *marriage*, with Col. Burr, as a circumstance warranting *suspicion*. About the opinions of *such* men I am indifferent. To the more ingenious and better part of my fellow-citizens, of whatever sect or party, I can only solemnly repeat, as I have done to you, sooner would I have perished than harbored a thought subversive of the liberties, the happiness, or the integrality of my country. Let me always be judged by *my own acts*, and I shall be satisfied. If Mr. Jefferson or Gen. Wilkinson ever find any thing to urge against me, let it be adduced. My residence is well known, and I shall never shrink from investigation. Nay more, *presumption*, where I can not repel it by *positive proof*, shall be received as *good evidence*, and the slightest *suspicion* which I can not *satisfactorily* explain, shall be admitted as *guilt*.

I remain, my dear sir, with much respect and regard,

Yours always, JOSEPH ALSTON.

CHAPTER XII.

BLENNERHASSETT having been arrested and discharged in the Mississippi Territory, imagined no further annoyance from the Government. Feeling desirous to ascertain the situation of his property at the island, which he had learned from his wife and others was much injured by the proceedings of the Wood county militia, he left Natchez in June, with the intention of visiting it.

The following correspondence will advise the reader of the incidents of his journey, and afford satisfactory information, in the mean time, of the situation of the respective parties:

Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett.

GIBSON'S PORT, SATURDAY, *June 13th*, 1807.

I arrived here about half-past seven o'clock this morning, after having lost half the day yesterday by lying by at Greenville, with a headache too heavy to ride with. I am now perfectly well, and after losing to-day with the Belpré folks here, and the detention occasioned by getting little Bay shod, shall resume the journey this evening.

The road is pretty open, having been lately cut out; but I shall endeavor, by traveling a good part of the night, to make up for whatever indulgence of shelter or rest I may allow the horses and myself in the day. I

find the cap the most comfortable luxury I ever traveled with, and think I can adjust a simple handkerchief about my head and face in a way to parry the musquitoes, or their more formidable companions the horse-flies.

I have no care, I assure you, for any thing affecting myself, but through you and my boys; could I, then, only be assured, that you would be as industrious to seek your recreation, and frequently *shift* the subject of your labors, as you are criminal in protracting the intervals of your sedentary occupations,—that my boys would not be ever exposed to the sun bareheaded and barefoot, my reflections on my business, or subjects of interest or amusement would not, I protest, suffer a moment's interruption. Improve, then, the blessing you did not expect, for you could never find it on the Ohio, which a benignant God has reserved for you among strangers, in the generous regards of so many worthy families and individuals who have become your friends. Farewell!

HAR. BLENNERHASSETT.

Give my particular love to Scott and F——, and kiss Anne and the boys for me.

MRS. BLENNERHASSETT.

Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett.

TOCKSHISH, IN THE CHICKASAW NATION,
(310 *miles from Natchez,*) *June* 14*th*, 1807.

I rest here to-day under the most severe embarrassments I have suffered since I left you; namely, the state of my tormented legs. The respite, however, is not less necessary for my horses, which have hitherto performed

very well. I mention the condition of my legs the more freely, because I know you will not disregard such an affliction. But whether from the heat of the weather, meager, and often scanty meals, the state of my blood has contracted an acrimonious habit it never had before, 't is certain the myriads of musquitoes and horse-flies, with the almost incessant perspiration that I suffered for five days after I left you, which allowed me no repose, until exhaustion made me callous, and sleep now in my cot, then on the ground, prepared a revival of fresh sensibility to new sufferings,—all, I can aver, were not more intolerable than the anguish of my legs, which the ardor of my industry to prosecute my journey would not until now permit me to find ease, even when at rest; no doubt, chiefly from so much pendent motion on horseback. But to that benignant Providence, which has so often had mercy upon me, be rendered all gratitude and thanksgiving. I shall make good my journey, as I can convert my eye into a microscope, by which I am enabled, through Divine goodness, to make this pen write to you. Through the same favor I shall pass unhurt through all the difficulties and dangers I may yet encounter, and I will again embrace you and our boys, or we shall be indemnified hereafter.

I omit to detail, at present, particulars of the journey hitherto. It is true, women and children perform it, for women will attempt and perform any possible undertaking, and they will not leave their teams behind; but it is no less certain, that many of them languish on the way; and the hardiest boatmen, and even Joe, who behaves admirably, swear they will never again attempt it at this

season of the year. We are now, by estimation, about 215 miles from Nashville, of which distance there is about fifty miles yet to pass through this Nation. We shall take from this place a fresh supply of corn for our horses, and a recruit to our remaining provisions, of two quarts of parched meal. You will see by the map, we shall then, when we cross Duck river, enter Tennessee, where we shall want for nothing. Water has been tolerably convenient and palatable so far; henceforward, I am told, it will be very good and plenty. I have had no scruple in drinking heartily while contending with heat, horse-flies, smoke and musquitoes. How fondly have I wished for the solacing society of Harding and Russel. O! how I could walk then.

The Chocataw country, for an extent of 250 miles which I have passed through, has not been altogether uninteresting, either from the condition of the natives, who are beginning, at least in the vicinity of this path, to enter somewhat into the pastoral state, and in some solitary instances, from the example of about one hundred white men, settled through their Nation, exhibit some commencements of agriculture, or from the appearance of their country, nine-tenths of which consist of either prairies or timber lands, well stocked with a variety of fine grass and plants, which exhibit a pleasing appearance — from the total freedom from brush and underwood, which disfigure all the forests you have seen in America. But the Chickasaw lands, for twenty miles back we have traveled since we entered the Nation, deserve, in every point of view, the character of a Paradise, so far as any inland country, without the features of water scenery in

its landscape, can claim it. Besides the beauty and variety of the whole vegetable clothing of the country, the clearly undulating surface of its woods, and the more advanced progress of the Chickasaws in agriculture, and the domestic economy that provides for the comforts of life, contrasted, as it is, with a tenacity of most of their Indian habits and manners, form altogether a variety truly interesting. This people must, in less than fifty years, become as respectable, in the "shepherd state," as they have hitherto been in the characters of the best warriors of all the tribes south of the Ohio. They have already no hunting ground nearer to them than the Mississippi, 100 miles distant. This circumstance will insure it.

I have heard, by the way, pretty consistently, that Bissel is impeached, and will probably suffer for his civilities to Col. Burr. Jackson is sent down to the Heights, or Orleans, to be tried on a multitude of charges, and Sergeant D—— is taken round by Wilkinson to testify to—God knows what.

When you write, as you will, I trust, every week until first of November, be careful to set down nothing that may not meet the public eye; and I think it safest to inclose to me, under cover to Gen. Tupper. I trust you will soon accustom yourself to the free enjoyment of all the hospitable kindness and attention that will be tendered to you from Natchez to Bayou Sara: this is one of my best hopes, as I fear not we shall be able to find opportunities hereafter to requite the goodness of our friends. As I constantly meditate on the prospect of your satisfaction with them, they all pass in review of my most grateful remembrance. During such moments,

however, my thoughts seem to soar on the wings of fancy, to a hight at which I lose sight of all other mortals, except the Scotts; while at other intervals of my reflections, I seem to gravitate, like falling bodies through the air, to Harding, as the immovable center of your comfort and protection during my absence. I hope you got my first letter from Gibson's Port, and my second from C——, 100 miles back. I have only time to say again, God bless you and the boys! The post hurries me.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

I shall resume the journey before day, to-morrow, 7 o'clock P. M.

From Mrs. to Mr. Blennerhassett.

July 6th.

I received your letter from the Nation, also the one previous to it, but derived but little pleasure from the general tenor of the last. Its contents are too gloomy, and I wanted no addition to the causes of low spirits I have experienced ever since you left; for these, however, I know I am to blame. I trust you are in good health. Our dear, fine boys are almost the only children here who keep well, and grow fat.

While I find my society more than ever courted, there is, and will be till you return, an insurmountable barrier to my peace of mind, in the fear of your becoming involved in private quarrels. If they can, with honor, be avoided, I trust and pray they will.

I see no reason for any despondency whatever. We can undoubtedly make a good beginning here, and, from

what I have experienced since your departure, I am perfectly satisfied that this climate, in summer as well as winter, is every way more desirable than the one I left on the Ohio, so that, please God! our happiness is now more in our own keeping than ever before. I trust your limbs are already well; if not, I wish you to try the leaves of the Jamestown weed. You need only take two or three of them, and, after softening them a little by beating between the palms of your hands, bind them well on the sores, after having first washed them with sugar of lead. Repeat the dressing three times, and then apply salve made of sugar of lead.

I hope you will be able to procure all the things mentioned on your list. If you can, I want you to get some of the early cucumber that the Barnes's used to have up the Kanawha, and bring every rare-ripe peach tree which can be moved out of the garden, as I find that sort are not grown in this country. If Peter Taylor, the gardener of Blennerhassett, comes, he must bring every flowering shrub he can move, or you find room for.

I left a pair of wafer (not waffle) irons in the kitchen, which I wish to have again, if possible. Should it be convenient to send my side-saddle, by safe hands, before you come yourself, I hope you will do so, as, perhaps, I may need it, though I have, at present, more carriages at my service than I can possibly use. I trust, however, this state of dependence may be removed by your bringing me some sort of a vehicle on your return.

In my next I shall give you a full account of the way in which I have spent my time since you left me: meanwhile, you can hardly calculate the attentions I receive

from every one; but Harding and the Scotts will ever be foremost in real affection. Ruple, I fancy, is on his way up, as is also Captain Leonard.

I have some prospect of exchanging houses with Captain Voss. He went two days since in pursuit of Peter Dexter for that purpose, and has not yet returned. Mr. H—— will manage the business for me, and when I have completed moving, I shall take leave of town, for two or three weeks, for Second Creek, accompanied by Miss Percy, who has not yet been able to join me, but makes fair promises. Should she fail, Mrs. Whittle will go with me.

I have had a most pressing invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Borlin, and am expected to visit them when I go down: she is a charming little woman. Mr. Hunt has not yet returned, but is expected daily. I have hired Diana out. Molly and her Spaniard do every thing for me; she is very good, and he the most obliging creature in the world. He stays here a great deal, goes to market, gets wood, and is said to be a very honest man.

An aid to General Wilkinson met you near the Nation, and said you were well. He also circulated a report, and even told Scott, that it was now discovered that Jefferson was concerned with Burr, and had even given him his cypher. Harman says I must say they are good boys; but Dominick* replies, that would be a falsehood. I send you their ugly faces. Remember me with affection to the Belpré folks. God bless you! farewell till next week!

M. BLENNERHASSETT.

* The two children of Mr. and Mrs. Blennerhassett.

P. S. I find I must inclose this in a wrapper (envelope), as I am too lazy to copy it, and am hourly expecting company to call. Tell Peter Taylor, if he should not like to stay with us, he can, by supplying the Natchez market, very soon make a handsome independence for his family; but he had better leave them where they are for the present, as they will be much healthier, and he can maintain them there for almost nothing compared to the cost of living here; besides, when he deems it prudent, he can have them brought down at almost any time. Say to Amy that the boys speak every day of her children, and that none of them shall have reason to repent coming to this country.

Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett.

NASHVILLE, *June 29th*, 1807, *past* 5 *P. M.*

I arrived here about one o'clock this day, being the eighteenth since I left you, including about three and a half days, during which I lay by; namely, at Greenville and Gibson's Port, nearly one and a half days; one at Tockshish, in the Chickasaw Nation, from whence I wrote to you, as I did from Gibson's Port; and one more a little within the entrance of this state, fifty-three miles back, occasioned by the state of the horses, all of which had completely given out with fatigue and sore backs. It required much address to get here, even when we did; and here we are to remain, for five days at least, to get the horses and my legs in a condition to proceed, and perform the remainder of the journey.

My entrance into the United States has not been very

auspicious. Last Friday evening, soon after I had passed what is called the line that separates Tennessee from the Wilderness, I endured, for upwards of an hour, the heaviest fall of rain I was ever under; indeed, none ever fell heavier. Packing through mud in the pathway, covered with six miles of running water all along, part of the time in the dark, I was still, however, able to keep myself perfectly dry, by passing my head through a hole in the middle of my blanket, which hung on my shoulders and covered me every-where, a contrivance I supposed myself indebted for to the care Hardings' servants have had of my great coat. The next mishap was my last detention, fifty-three miles back. The next was meeting a man yesterday morning, about forty-five miles back, who looked strongly at me, and passing by to a man who was traveling in company with me, inquired of him my name; then said he had a letter for me, but would not deliver it, as it lay, he said, in the bottom of his saddle-bags. Had Joe or I learned this before we had traveled too far to turn back, we should certainly have had the letter, one way or another. You will get it, I hope, and forward it, with any others you receive for me, with all possible dispatch.

Journeying on hither, I was much mortified, as I stopped to breakfast yesterday, by the perusal in a paper of the first proceedings at Richmond against Col. Burr, which evince the most rancorous malice of the Government against his life. But they will be disappointed by the negative and cautious conduct he has all along pursued. In the course of the proceedings it appears Jefferson's runners have been industrious enough to ferret out

Peter Taylor and Jacob Albright, to prove that there was a body of armed men assembled on Blennerhassett's Island. This may surprise you, but it matters not. I need not write to you the particulars I have further seen; they will reach you by the papers sooner then through me.

Some short time before day this morning, my next torment was a dream, where I slept last night, ten miles back, in which I beheld our Harman fallen a victim to the bite of a dog, and you an insane mourner, wan and sallow, without a tear. You know I am sincere in denying all virtue to dreams, either as cause or effect of human events. I therefore mention this, with every confidence in God's mercy, that he will permit you to tell me our darling boy has continued well, long after the period of my dream. But the manner in which you there appeared to me has all day long so haunted me, that I wished, soon after I got my valise taken to my room, to chase away such a phantom with a view of the little *Mammy*, when, alas! my yet last and greatest misfortune was visited upon me—the treasure, the greatest, after yourself and the boys, I could have in this world, for if I do not recover it it is irreparable—how shall I mention it? I *lost* your second self. Joe sets out twenty miles backward, to-morrow early, in quest of it, where we have some hopes of recovering it. O! had Mrs. Alston, by one of the best impulses that ever actuated her, had she purloined it, how consoling would be the prospect of my journey, it would animate me to visit it. How, my love, will you soothe this heaviest of my sorrows? I have complained to you of none until this overtook me. May this be the last letter you will receive from me in such a

state of mind as I now suffer under; may I be blest with the recovery of that talisman that I now so fully feel would never fail to keep my strength from falling, and my hopes from becoming forlorn in the midst of all I may suffer from the malice of my enemies—captivity or death. Perhaps it is reserved for me to recover this solace of every trouble that I shall endure, until I again embrace you.

So far I had written yesterday. You will feel with what weight at my heart, though I knew before I sat down this letter will not leave this before Friday. To-day, Tuesday, I have been chiefly occupied—since I got Joe off on the greatest service, if successful, he can ever render me—with further perusals of the proceedings at Richmond, up to the 6th instant, when Wilkinson had not arrived, though hourly expected, as it was supposed he must have set out three weeks sooner from Orleans than he did. I hope your friends, Harding and Scott, will get you the fullest accounts of the trial, from time to time. Nothing can hardly interest you more. You may read some things that may alarm you for A. B. or H. B.; but I have no doubt the rancor of Government will be baffled in its purpose to fasten any treason upon us, or even a misdemeanor.

This place appears very dull and ugly, but tolerably cheap. The inhabitants are chiefly the offcastings of North Carolina, and I do not know a single face I have yet seen. The living, of course, at this inn, is rough and uncomfortable, except the tea and coffee, which will redeem many sins of the table with me. But the attendance is very bad every-where, and criminal, where I want

it most, in the stables, at a time when I can not walk. On this view of my situation, I have thoughts of moving six or eight miles onward to-morrow, there to wait for whatever Thursday's post may bring here for me; and endeavor to get the poor horses on, by easy journeys, as well as we can. It is now almost nightfall. I look for and dread Joe's return every hour to-night. You see, however, I am lighter at heart than I was yesterday; and is not this a crime in my situation, yet no-way mended? I had not light to finish the last sentence of Tuesday evening, when Beaumont, the pilot, who took me over the Falls in one of Floyd's boats, called upon me to inquire after him, and told me Mrs. F. had paid the debt of nature, about the middle of this month, having left behind her a fine child. It is painful, but necessary, that we should be the messengers of these sad tidings, if they have not otherwise reached him, because his affairs at home require his speedy return, his property of every sort depending only on the care of a negro wench.

Yesterday, I spent the whole day in perplexing anxiety for Joe's absence, and the care of my unfortunate legs, on which it is not only misery to walk, but even to put them on the ground for a moment. They also prevent my rest a considerable part of the night. Nothing seems to succeed but close bandaging from the toe to the knee, which I have again resorted to. Up to this moment, Wednesday noon, July 2d, we have no intelligence of the thief who, we doubt not, stole my treasure. I have more than one runner out after him; have offered ten dollars, and would not depart hence, if myself and horses were able, till all chance was hopeless. Joe has returned, after a

fruitless and unremitting search for him of forty hours. I hope Russell has returned, and is received as he deserves.

Assure Kitty I cordially wish her no worse a husband than would write to her, and feel for her, after thirteen years' trial, as I do for you. I depend upon his vaccinating Harman, and attending you all three, if necessary. The state of your chest, I rely on your solemn promise to me, has surely been submitted to him, and I hope he has lost no time to administer every palliative and preventive he could best imagine. My concern for your keeping the boys' heads and feet always covered, I can never cease to dwell upon and repeat.

I must leave you for some sort of dinner. God grant I may be able to add one more pleasing line than any I have yet written, before the mail closes this evening.—+— Well, "par hazard," I have made a better dinner than any I have had yet in this place, i. e., the first bit of wheaten bread I could eat, and one cut of good mutton, well roasted. But does this ennui afflict a man who was satisfied and cheerful, after forty-five miles' ride, with half a tin-cup of water-gruel twice a day, in an Indian wilderness? Have I only returned into what is called civilized society, to wish myself out of it? Much have I projected to execute of that active exertion which Harding so kindly urged me to. But I am now a cripple, without a leg to stand upon, or a mind capable of emerging from that sea of trouble in which it has sunk so deeply. I shall, however, wait the news next Monday's mail may bring from the eastward. It is not impossible some tidings may arrive to determine me hence westward, even direct to the chance of an asylum, under the government of Grand

Prè; for I have little doubt Jefferson, if he can not effect our ruin by our conviction, will seek it by harrassing us to beggary. I think if I should oe prosecuted with the virulence that has marked the proceedings against Burr, my acquittal, by the trouble and expense that would be incurred to obtain it, would be worth little more than a condemnation. One thing is certain, I shall take nothing from you to fee lawyers. I shall have none that may not volunteer their assistance. So you will have another short letter from this place, or its neighborhood, to announce to you upon what terms, and in what temper, I leave it: my anxiety augments largely for frequent and long letters from you.

I trust you have long since left the Chateau of Poindexter, and have previously made every necessary arrangement for a regular intercourse with the Post-office at Natchez. I hourly expect Col. Panil, whom I overtook and passed by 150 miles back, without seeing him. I wish he was come to break in upon my ennui. I have nothing to comfort me but this last refuge—hope. All this tumult of my heated head—has it been kindled by you, or a trinket? God bless you all three, and all our good friends. The mail is near closing. Adieu.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

Blennerhassett to Mrs. Blennerhassett.

NASHVILLE, *Sunday, July 6th*, 1807.

As I am very anxious to leave this to-morrow evening, after I shall peruse whatever I may find interesting by the mail, which may occupy me the best part of the day,

I now use that time it might cost me to-morrow to tell you my legs are now nearly quite well, which I am indebted for, to a week's rest, and the most careful skill I possess. Col. Panil arrived here on Friday evening, much improved in his looks by his long journey, in which he did not distress himself by hard riding, whatever he might otherwise have suffered from insects and hot weather. He eats like a dray-horse, and can not find a single complaint, in the catalogue of all human, bodily infirmities to appropriate to himself. There is one there, however, which, though he will not see it, or utter its name, has fastened pretty hard upon him. Hypochondria has marked him for her own, and he will sink under her, unless he abandons his plantation near Natchez. I have been so far particular, that you may, if you have an opportunity, convey to his family a more unbiassed sketch of his situation, than they will probably receive from himself.

By a private arrival here to-day, I collect, by calculation on the intelligence by way of Knoxville, Wilkinson had arrived at Richmond, but did not probably get there before the 17th or 18th ultimo. It is most likely the grand jury has been detained to the period of his arrival. I hope to-morrow's papers will afford more satisfaction. Have you really missed writing to me by two mails that have left Natchez since I came away, without your having been prevented by something you could not obviate. Judge of my mortification to see Col. Panil read letters from home of 23d, while I was looking over Natchez papers of the same date, after I had left you on the 11th. It will give me five days' work to get to Lexington, say

200 miles, with horses in the condition of mine; and, as I shall endeavor not to delay there longer than two days to rest the horses, I fear I have little chance of hearing from you before I reach Marietta; so little have you cared, or so unhappily have you been forbidden to use the time which is past. You will surely need no further hints of this sort. I hope you have not suffered the idolatrous grief, with which I filled my last letter, to affect you much. It was a weakness in me to pour the melancholy effusions of my heart into your breast; but how could I resist so natural a remedy for my pain? While I possessed your image, I did not feel how really I was an idolater. When my hard fortune deprived me of it, I could see nothing in the loss so lively as the image of your death. Hence, hope, my last refuge, led me to dwell upon yourself; besides, I thought you could not be afflicted by my misfortune as I am. Joe, and others, are out still, and yesterday I again advertised in the paper, and am not absolutely in the abandonment of despair to recover my treasure. I already feel, however, time will wear out the impression of this calamity, as it effaces all others. So far in my fifth letter, which I will continue to-morrow.

The mail arrived late this morning, Monday, 7th, and brings no Richmond papers. I have seen, however, a Virginia paper of the 12th ultimo, by which it appears that Burr had applied to the court for a "*subpena duces tecum*," directed to the President, requiring him to appear as a witness, and bring along with him a letter, he stated in one of his messages to Congress to have received from

Wilkinson, which letter has not yet been made public. The chief justice doubted of the power of the court to order the personal attendance of the President, and fixed upon the next day to have his mind made up, by an argument on the motion.

It has rained so hard, by frequent and heavy showers all day, that I should not have set out at any rate. To-morrow I shall be accompanied by a Doctor Floyd, the husband of the *ci-devant* Miss Preston. We shall be together better than half the way, when he will strike off to Louisville. Since writing the above, I have seen some lengthy articles of further proceedings at Richmond, which you may first learn, and inform Harding, etc., that Burr's motion has been granted, after great and splendid exertions by himself and his counsel, particularly Edmond Randolph, and that the celebrated original cypher letter is not forthcoming, having been said to be lost; that Randolph (Edmond) said in court, "Wilkinson, in a few weeks, would be in the rank of a private citizen;" and that from private letters received here, it is believed, that immediately after the trial, he will have to settle his private accounts with Gen. Jackson, and four or five other persons. I have also seen a detailed account of the object and issue of a Mr. Burling's mission to Mexico, by which it appears he was chiefly sent to insure the balance of $300,000, of which Wilkinson had before received $120,000, transported from St. Antoine to his quarters on mules, in the night. On the whole, Mr. Jefferson and his party must be ruined, by the support they have afforded Wilkinson, even if it were possible Burr could

be convicted of any thing. Farewell, my love! if I do not write again on the road, I shall immediately on reaching Lexington.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

Monday, 12 *at night.*

RICHMOND, *June 8th*, 1807.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of February last was received by me a few days before I left Marietta for Richmond. I most sincerely regret that a service of foreign attachment, of the 20th of February, has placed such of your property as was under my control out of my power. The writ was served on account of Miller, of Kentucky; and Sanders, of Kentucky, has since filed in a claim. A writ of foreign attachment has also been served on D. Woodbridge, Esq., attaching the claims you had upon him; and all your movable property at the "Island" is attached. A certificate from the sheriff follows, by which you will perceive that property of every description in my hands was attached:

"I do hereby certify, that on the 20th day of February, 1807, I served a writ of foreign attachment on D. Woodbridge, as garnishee of H. Blennerhassett, attaching all the lands, tenements, goods, rights and credits, moneys and effects, which the said Blennerhassett might have in his, the said Woodbridge's hands, or possession.

"JOHN CLARK, *Sheriff.*

"*County of Washington, State of Ohio.*"

The inclosed letters, with one which I shall lodge in

the Post-office at the same time with this, I took the liberty of opening in February, just as I was going over the mountains, thinking they might require some attention and answers. I should have sent them to you long since, but did not know where to direct them. You will receive here, with your account, a letter from Col. Cushing, which makes a different package, but will be put in the office at the same time. I expected to have seen you at this place. The report in our country was, that you were arrested, and were to have your trial at Richmond. I should think it much better for your interest, if you do not return to the Island, to have an attorney vested with full powers, to attend to your business in Marietta and Virginia. Your property has, and will continue to suffer very much, unless you have a person authorized to attend to it. You probably heard from Col. Cushing, that your negroes had left Virginia, and were strolling about on our side of the river; that Barker, in consequence of a letter of yours, of the 9th December, had recovered about $400 for the work done on four unfinished boats, although he had offered before to take from me $200, which circumstance was known to James Wilson; that the Neals and Phelps had recovered a considerable sum against you, to satisfy which demands, Ransom, and a greater part of your movable property on the Island, was sold. I can not give you any particulars relating to these transactions, as I was over the mountains from February until May, and the day I arrived at home was subpœnaed to attend Col. Burr's trial, at this place. Buell has gone on, under the direction of the Government, to sell such a part of the pork, meal, etc., etc., as he attached, and the boats are

fitting up to take the United States' troops to St. Louis. Wishing yourself and family much happiness, I am,

Your obedient servant, D. WOODBRIDGE.

Mrs. Blennerhassett to Blennerhassett.

I can scarcely express the joy communicated to me by your last letter from Nashville. Thank God, the anxiety of your mind is somewhat relieved. I have little doubt that Col. Pannil's hypochondria did you more service than even a cheerful companion could have done. What a misfortune, in your state of mind, not to have got the letter which Mr. Tyrrel, of this place, passed you with in his saddle-bags. I now inclose it, and hope by this time the attachments may be in a fair way to be taken off our poor property. I inclose every other letter I have received, except one from D. Woodbridge and one from Col. Cushing, as I trust, long before this reaches you, you will have seen them both. I feel greatly for the impression which must be made on you by the present state of the Island; but think, my dear husband, how thankful we may be to have preserved the health of our dear boys, and also yours, during such a dreadful journey.

Col. Burr has every thing in his favor, and I now think will never let us sustain any eventual injury. You can't think with what joy and pride I read what he says of his daughter. I never could love one of my own sex as I do her: how can she live with such a man as Alston? You see he has not had humanity, or even politeness enough,

to answer your letter. I did not write the mail after your departure, and the week following. Thought the surest way for my letter to reach you would be to write to Lexington. I wish I had calculated better, but trust your uneasiness is long since removed. After I wrote last week, I went to spend some time with the Scott's; but after leaving town, I learned of the arrival of a French Consul, who wished to rent my house. Mrs. Whittle—to whom I am under the greatest obligations—was confined with a pleurisy. I was therefore under the necessity of spending a day at ——— with her, and took that opportunity of engaging half of James Moon's house, on the condition that if he had an offer for the whole, he was to give me the refusal. Mrs. Whittle keeps possession of the other half, where she will reside a good deal when recovered, which I hope will be soon, as she was much better yesterday, which I spent with her. We are to go together to Second Creek, where I have pressing invitations from Berling's family to visit, but I am in doubt whether I ought to go there; I will consult my valuable friend and adviser on all occasions. Poor man! he has much anxiety about Winthrop, who has constant returns of pleurisy, and as he is cutting two back teeth, we are in hopes they are the cause of his illness. My visit to Scott's, you see, was curtailed, as I went out on Monday evening, and returned on Thursday, when I saw the gentleman whose name I do n't yet know; referred him to Harding, saying my rent would be the same I paid myself, and he might have the place for the continuance of my lease. I then went home; about the middle of the

day, Thursday, had all my things packed up, and many of them removed that evening. The rest I had here, and next morning took possession of my new habitation, which was in such disorder that it took me two days, with the assistance of Molly and her husband, to settle myself, so that altogether I underwent much fatigue; but, thanks to my constitution, I am recovering from a bad cold, received from exposure when heated, and pains in all my limbs, occasioned by my violent exertions, and being too tired to sleep for three nights; but yesterday I rested well with Mrs. Whittle, and last night slept soundly. I have this day put Dominick to a most excellent school in town, in a healthy, airy place. Thanking God for every thing, our situation is a Paradise to the one we left; you will soon feel the benefits of it; 't is impossible here to feel heat at any hour of the day, and I have every convenience around me, but still I miss the Island.

Harman says, "tell 'Pappy' I am a very good boy." Dominick has just returned from school to dinner. He bids me tell you how he loves you; he has come home quite pleased, though Mr. Harding and I left him crying at school. The schoolmaster's name is Graham, and it seems he had taken it into his head, "it was, as he said, that Graham who was bad to Col. Burr and us." You must know, I have lately learned from Col. Scott that Graham actually proposed to him to invite Col. Burr to his plantation, and when there, under the shelter, as it might be supposed, of his honor and hospitality, to procure good horses, and kidnap him off to the Federal city. Col. Scott made answer, that he already had done his

duty, under the command of Wilkinson, by going to Cole's Creek, and would do nothing more. He, Scott, was rather intoxicated when he told me this. God bless you! M. BLENNERHASSETT.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND, *May 21st*, 1807.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.:

I have barely time, by the opportunity of Mr. Tyrrell, to assure you and Mrs. Blennerhassett of my devoted attachment and regard, and to express my sympathy for all the vexations you have encountered. Mr. Tyrrell will tell you of all the strange things which are passing here. Of the bills, the first which you indorsed has been paid by Mr. Alston. The $10,000 indorsed at Lexington are in the hands of an agent with whom I am in negociation at this place. That which was left with Mr. Luckett has not, to my knowledge, been negociated. Within a few months after my release from this place, I may hope to be in cash for all these and some other purposes.

May God preserve you and yours in health and spirits.

A. BURR.

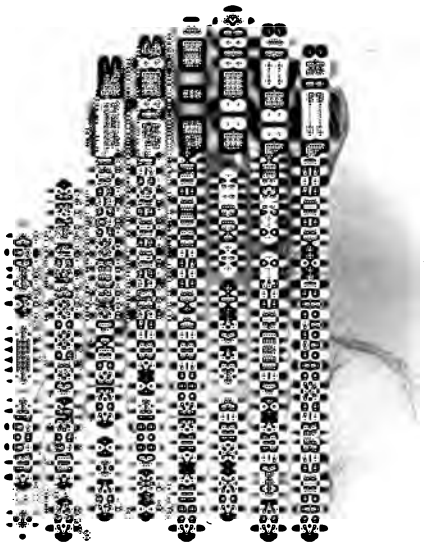
If you should not go on the Washita lands, would you like a conveyance of the quantity promised to you. Tell Mrs. B. that the one-half of every letter I receive from my daughter is concerning her. Affectionate regards and grateful acknowledgments to our learned and amiable friend Harding.

Alston to Blennerhassett.

OAKS, *June 22d*, 1807.

DEAR SIR:—You perceive, from the very first word I have written, that I address you with the same feelings with which we parted. There are certain expressions in your letter of April last, which, if you recollect, you must acknowledge, are not calculated to conciliate: they spring, however, so manifestly from a zealous attachment to Col. Burr, and a misapprehension of *my* feelings, that they have produced none of those sensations which, under different circumstances, they would not fail to excite. I pass them over, too, the more readily, as I am persuaded from your temper, the moment of discovering your error will be the moment of regret at having indulged it. Suffer me then to assure you, I have inflicted none of those wounds upon my "friends or relatives" which you apprehend. Col. Burr feels that he has not the smallest grounds of resentment against me; he is perfectly satisfied; nor does there exist a shadow of that animosity between us that you deprecate. The fact is, from not having a view of the whole ground, you have judged precipitately and erroneously of my error, in giving faith to the letter attributed to Col. Burr by Gen. Wilkinson, I have long been satisfied from several quarters. Nothing but the shape, apparently so unquestionable, in which it came, could have gained it credit with me, for a moment. These things, however, will shortly be put to rights. As soon as the trial, now pending at Richmond, is over, the event of which, I am persuaded, can not but be favorable, Col. Burr will be with us. A letter from

him, of the 12th instant, announces health, spirits and confidence. Your letter was received the beginning of the present month, and, but for the necessity of ascertaining the intentions of Col. Burr upon the subject of it, should have been acknowledged immediately. I forwarded it to him directly, and have just heard from him. He informs me that the bill-holders have instituted no suit against you, but are at present expecting payment from *him;* that he has hopes of shortly effecting an arrangement by which he shall be able to meet the bills himself, which will, of course, relieve you, and render a reference to me unnecessary. He adds, that a gentleman, as agent for him, was to set out in a few days for the western country, through whom you should hear further and more amply upon the subject. These expectations of Col. B., I trust, will be accomplished. I have this day written to him, making certain offers which, I hope, will facilitate them; but should they unfortunately fail, I shall certainly consider myself bound, both in honor and justice, to fulfill my engagement to you. The total failure of my crop, caused by the storm of last fall, has occasioned me a temporary embarrassment; but should your reimbursement devolve upon me, I shall cheerfully make any arrangement for a settlement which may prove satisfactory: the troubles and vexations you have undergone, the dreadful solicitudes and painful situation, so long endured by your amiable family, have my liveliest sympathies. The energy of mind, which distinguishes Mrs. Blennerhassett, has had a painfully ample field for exertion; but the storm is past, and better moments, I trust, are about to arrive. Of the friendly attentions and



unremitting hospitalities received from you during our tour through the western country, allow me to assure you of my grateful recollections. Were it within the scope of probabilities, I need not tell you how much pleasure the presence of yourself and family, at the Oaks, would give us. Tender, I pray you, to Mrs. Blennerhassett, my profound and most friendly respects.

Believe me, with much esteem, your very obedient,

JOSEPH ALSTON.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

P. S. Being unwell myself, Mrs. Alston has acted as my amanuensis. It is so customary at this time to publish extracts from every letter in which the name of Col. Burr happens to be mentioned, that I was about to observe to you, what you will readily perceive without the observation, that this is not meant for the same purpose, but merely for your own perusal.

J. A.

Having acted as amanuensis for Mr. Alston, I now beg leave to speak for myself, and inquire after the health of Mrs. Blennerhassett; her fortitude has, I hope, supported her through the troubles of the winter. May they be the last she has ever to encounter. I wrote to her last autumn, but I suppose my letter has not reached her. The fulfillment of our mutual promise of corresponding would afford me great pleasure; for it will now be the only means of supporting a friendship, which I flatter myself commenced in conformity of sentiment and sincerity; but whatever may be the length of our separation or discontinuance of intercourse, the happy days I spent

on the Ohio, and the character of Mrs. B., will remain indelibly impressed on the mind of her friend and admirer. T. B. ALSTON.*

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* One individual alone clung to Burr in his hour of trial; need we say that it was a woman, the only daughter of the accused.

If there is a redeeming feature in the character of Burr, it is to be found in his love for that child. From her earliest years, he had educated her with a care to which we look in vain for a parallel among his contemporaries. She grew up, in consequence, no ordinary woman. Beautiful beyond most of her sex; accomplished as few females of that day were accomplished, she displayed to her family and friends a fervor of affection which not every woman is capable of; the character of Theodosia Burr has long been regarded almost as we would regard that of a heroine of romance. Her love for her father partook of the purity of a better world; holy, deep, unchanging; it reminds us of the affection which a celestial spirit might be supposed to entertain for a parent, cast down from heaven, for sharing in the sin of the "Son of the Morning." No sooner did she hear of the arrest of her father, than she fled to his side. There is nothing in human history more touching than the hurried letters, blotted with tears, in which she announced her daily progress to Richmond; for she was too weak to travel with the rapidity of the mail. Even the character of Burr borrows a momentary halo from hers, when we peruse his replies, in which, forgetting his peril and relaxing the stern front he assumed toward his enemies, he labored only to quiet her fears, and inspire her with confidence in his acquittal. He even writes from his prison in a tone of gayety, jestingly regretting that his accommodations are not more elegant for her reception. Once, and once only, does he melt; and that is to tell her that in the event of the worst, he will die worthy of himself.

After his trial, Burr went abroad, virtually a banished man. He was still full of his schemes against Mexico and the Spanish provinces; but in England he met with no encouragement, the nation being engaged in the Peninsular war. He afterward visited France, where his petitions were equally disregarded, the Emperor being engrossed in the Continental wars. Here his funds failed. He had no friend to apply to, and was forced to borrow, on one occasion, a couple of sous from a cigar-woman on the corner of the street.

At last he returned to New York; but in how different a guise from the days of his glory! No cannon thundered at his coming, no crowd thronged the wharf. Men gazed suspiciously upon him as he walked along, or crossed the street to avoid him, as one having the pestilence. But he was not, he thought, wholly destitute. His daughter still lived; his heart

RICHMOND, *June 29th*, 1807.

DEAR SIR:—I recommend to you to place Mrs. Blennerhassett and your children with Mrs. Alston, till these agitations shall be composed.

For other matters, I refer you to my friend, Major Ashley, who will hand you this.

Faithfully, yours, A. BURR.

Mr. A. will perform his engagement. The bill for two thousand dollars was duly paid.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

To Mrs. M. Blennerhassett.

LEXINGTON, KY., *Tuesday Eve., July 14th*, 1807.

On my arrival here to-day, I was taken into custody for my indorsement of some of Col. Burr's bills, of which I am now getting clear by an arrangement Mr.

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yearned to clasp her to his bosom. She left Charleston, South Carolina, accordingly, to meet him. But although more than thirty years have elapsed, no tidings of the pilot-boat in which she sailed have ever been received. Weeks grew into months, and months glided into years. Yet her father and husband watched in vain for her coming. Whether the vessel perished by conflagration, whether it foundered in a gale, or whether it was taken by pirates, and all on board murdered, will never be known, until the great day when the sea shall give up its dead.

It is said that this blow broke the heart of Burr; and that though in public he maintained a proud equanimity, in private tears forced themselves down his furrowed cheeks. He lived thirty years after this event; but, in his own words, "felt severed from the human race." He had neither brother, nor sister, nor lineal descendant. No man called him by the endearing name of friend. The weight of fourscore years was on his brow. He was racked by disease. At last death, so long desired, came; but, it is said, in a miserable lodging and alone. Was there ever such a retribution? ANONYMOUS.

Clay is drawing up between Mr. Sanders and me, effected by my transferring Col. Alston's obligation, etc. Col. Mead's son, by a rapid journey from Richmond, performed in twelve days, brings intelligence of bills of indictment having been found against Col. Burr and myself for high *treason* and a misdemeanor, and that Burr is in close custody. The Federal marshal sent out to summon a jury from Wood county, and the trial fixed to come on the 3d of August. Burr's situation is thought to be perilous, as may be my own. If I go on to the Island or Marietta, I must expect to be immediately sent to Richmond. I have no idea of attempting an escape, which I could probably effect by Detroit to Canada. I feel conscious of all want of law or evidence to convict me, and shall therefore *not* seek to avoid an arrest anywhere, but promptly appear on any call for me at Richmond. Wilkinson will fall and be disgraced, whatever fate may attend Burr or myself. Seven of the grand jury were for presenting or indicting him, but all were unanimous for indicting Burr and me. I shall advise with Mr. Clay, this evening, on my situation, and the course I should pursue. It has appeared to me probable I should be arrested here, and sent on from hence; Mr. Clay thinks that will not be; you shall hear from me, however, the first new opportunity. Dudley Woodbridge, Edm. Dana, David Wallace, and almost every one you could suspect, have been taken to Richmond on subpenas; John and S. Henderson, of course. Bollman has refused the President's pardon, as I should, unless it were issued upon petition to him from yourself and my respectable acquaintances in the Mississippi Territory and the United

States, unsolicited by me. I will not fly, even from Wood county witnesses and juries.

I must now tell you I was interrupted when I had written so far, by a visit from Mr. David Mead, to arrest me on the part of the United States. He is an amiable, kind young man, with whom I shall set out in a few days for Richmond. He has offered me every service since I have been confined, and is very busy in summoning witnesses on behalf of Col. Burr. He has just left me in a new lodging, which is very comfortable, I assure you, being a clean, airy room in the jail, left entirely to myself, where, I call God to witness to you, I do not feel at all uneasy at the sense of confinement. It is true, I have not yet tried it half an hour; but the same Providence that has ever supported me will let my time and my reflections flow as smoothly here as if I were at liberty. You must serve the same *God*, and by strong and steady endeavors think of this, and the worst that persecutions can inflict upon me, as lightly as I do. Attend to the duties you owe, and the delights that will be afforded you, by our dear boys, till I see them again, which I shall surely do somewhere. Forward to Richmond an affidavit from my valued friend Harding, stating at large the proceedings that were had against me at Washington, and a duplicate, for fear of a miscarriage. The jailer, a civil American, of the name of Prentiss, has just informed me has orders to let no one speak to me but in his presence, and to let no letters come to me or go from me. I have just sent him out to demand of Col. Crocket, the United States Marshal, or Mr. Bibb, their Attorney, that I may write to you a sealed letter or an open one, as they will venture to prescribe.

He returns with an answer that I may send closed letters to you; but any others I may wish to write must be seen by him and the jailer before they are sealed. I make memoranda of all these occurrences, which I read over to the jailer, and he has engaged to sign.

If you wish to sympathize with me, do not grieve for my situation, as I am not at all discouraged. This evening, 't is true, is warm; but how much more distressing was the heat in the vast prairies and barrens I have passed through, tormented, too, day and night with insects, from which I am here free. Is my tumbler so greasy I can not wash it clear? I am chemist enough to know that not a particle of the grease will adhere to the water; and how very much cooler is my drink! I have just been sent, per Joe, a mug of good tea, with toast, from Mrs. J., with mattress, sheets, etc. My windows are grated, but large and open, and their appearance no more disturbs my reflections, which kind Heaven never suffers to fail me, in place or time, than the figure of those we sometimes admired on the Island. You must dismiss, then, all concern for every mortification you will falsely think I suffer, except what arises from the want of the picture, which I do 'nt yet despair of, through the kind offices of a young man at Nashville, a printer, of the name of Rob. Alleson, who has kindly assured me he will engage himself to forward it to you or me. I must now close, to insure this letter time enough in the office to go by to-morrow's mail. Joe has just come to take them. God bless you! Write every post. Kiss my boys for me, and never fear a failure of my spirits or my constancy.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

To Mrs. M. Blennerhassett.

LEXINGTON, *July 18th*, 1807.

It should afford you the fullest proof of my contentment, in my present situation, to learn, that without any interruption of good health, I have not appropriated any part of my time, since Tuesday, to writing to you. When I was closing my letter to you that day, I thought it would go from hence next morning; I am happy since to hear it will not go forward before this, which, I hope, you will first read. In the midst of my occupation, by the cares of my concerns with the Government, I have made arrangements for removing, I expect, the greatest part of the incumbrances affecting our property on the Island. Miller, who, you know, attached the chief part of our effects, is not here, but will probably accept of the same accommodations, accepted by Mr. Sanders, namely, a transfer of Alston's obligation, with a deed of trust on the Island, as a further security. Our valued friend Harding will explain this to you. He ought to see my letters to you, while the press of more indispensable occupation prevents my writing to him. Details relating to my arrest on Tuesday evening, and the proceedings that have already, and will hereafter occur, you will see, must be too voluminous to find place in my letters. You must content yourself with the statement you will find of them in the papers. I will not fail, however, to give you such particulars as you may not see there.

The degrees of adversity seem to graduate the scales of friendship, and the sincerity of the professions we receive in life. I have been visited by Col. Meade, who

has not probably ridden to town for two years, on any two other occasions, while Morton, the Harts, and many others you would first count upon, have not appeared within the walls. More call upon me, however, than I wish to see, while poor Tracy is offended with me, because I will not take any of the little money he has gathered by so many years' hard earning, and several other persons daily load me with general offers of service. If confinement could, in itself, have any ills for me, they could not fail to be greatly abated, by the interest excited by my visitors and the unremitting exercise of my pen. But while I have these resources—aided, besides, by the kindest attentions of the jailer and his family, who in no instance omits to render my situation not only easy, but even comfortable, without transgressing the line of demarkation between his duty and his inclination—I hope the ease I experience, and the indifference I feel toward future prospects, will not induce you to suspect that the most loathsome dungeon, or the most unjust issue of my prosecution, could exhibit me unworthy of the favor of your constancy and virtue. Although I live very comfortably in every respect, Mrs. Sanders, late Miss Nicholas, persists in sending me a nice breakfast every morning, and Mr. Postlethwaite has endeavored to procure my removal to his house, a mile distant in the country; but popular passion is so strongly engaged on the side of the Government, that it could not be effected in this focus of Democracy; the ardor of which, however, I am generally assured—the manner of my deportment, and address in the court—have cooled down into some degree of sympathy and confidence in my honor.

I have been very much engaged the last two days in preparing letters and various papers for Joe to take to the Island. I got him off in the afternoon; he took with him two new horses I got for the three I left Natchez with, which he will take to his uncle's on the Monangahela, and keep until he takes them down to Richmond, where I shall want him and Scott to prove the inveterate animosity borne me by some of the Wood county witnesses I expect to appear against me. I think it probable I may have occasion, on my defense, to make use of the first letter I wrote to Col. Burr; that being destroyed, probably my letter-book may be received as evidence of its contents. The book, therefore, which I left in the small trunk, containing my papers, together with every letter you can there find, or in *any part* of my writing-desk, from Col. Burr to *you*, or myself, you must, with the aid of Mr. Harding, or other friends, whose zeal and punctuality can be depended upon, have forwarded to me at Richmond, together with the morocco case, containing my music, and the two sheets of manuscript I lent Mrs. Wallace, with my spectacles; the whole carefully packed, sealed and directed, in a small trunk or box, in the safest and most expeditious manner, by Orleans, to some port where I may get the earliest intelligence of its arrival, and thence procure it by the coach. I expected the return to town last evening of my young friend, David Meade, from the country, where he is *fatiguingly* employed in serving subpenas for witnesses on the part of Col. Burr. On Monday I shall set out in his charge—he being deputy-marshal—with a guard of four, three, at least, of whom are respectable, and will, I am assured,

prove agreeable companions. I am extremely sorry to find the injury to private individuals of this country in consequence of a *baseless* authority for Burr's financial operations here last autumn, far exceeding my greatest suspicions. If it be shown that he had *not* funds and friends pledged to him to warrant his drafts, his conduct would appear nefarious enough to displace all the friendships he ever formed. These strictures are particularly extracted from me by something I have heard of him relating to myself in a pecuniary sense, which will be examined, and come hereafter to your knowledge, if material. They may therefore be kept secret from all but friends, in whose honor and attachment we can confide. David Meade has just left me. We shall certainly go on Monday, and proceed by easy journeys, comfortably equipped. Beware to enter upon Dominick's heart, but by small and cautious advances while informing him of my situation. Welcome the means you may derive from it, of forming him to a habit of patience and courage in suffering; pity for the vices of mankind, and a steady contempt for malice, which the vengeance of power can never subdue. As it regards yourself, reflect and rejoice that your husband will not be unworthy of you by the tenor of his life; while, through all the trials he may yet pass, the approving spirit of your virtue will embellish his fame and smile upon his courage. I have written to my friends, Jas. S. Lewis & Co., to honor Mr. Harding to amount of $500 or $600 to answer your occasions, as well as to accept all bills drawn by yourself, to amount of my remaining funds in their hands: this last instruction I gave them in contemplation of your making a small pur-

chase, and having need of some money to make ready payments and prepare for getting in a crop the ensuing season, which you ought to endeavor to effect for the children in the manner I have proposed; though any other you may be advised to will not be displeasing to me. Mr. Biggs will soon, I hope, reach Natchez, with some few hands, and I have begged of Col. Cushing to endeavor, as soon as possible, to send you every thing he can from the Island, from whence I think it probable you will receive some supplies in the course of this fall. My detention at Richmond will extend nearly to Christmas, owing to the distances from which I shall be obliged to collect my witnesses; so that if I shall be able to run the gauntlet through Democratic juries and witnesses, you may easily calculate the time I could return to you by sea, or by land and the Ohio, taking the Island in my way. In the mean time, it is possible I shall not be kept in jail, but confined in a comfortable way in the Penitentiary, or other *safe* quarters, under guard, at Richmond, as Burr now is. The federal marshal there has a good character from David Meade, and is brother to General Scott. Continue to repeat to all our worthy friends, particularly Harding, Col. and Mrs. Scott, and Russell, etc., etc., my grateful obligations for their goodness to you; tell Russell I do not cry "Divil burn the iron boults," though I sometimes sing "Smolileu."

A mail in to-day from Natchez, and no letters from you. I have had but one; the *postmaster's* date being 23d ult., concerning the boys' works. For God's sake, write oftener, and give me the satisfaction of hearing

how many of my letters, this making the seventh or eighth, you received from your husband,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

P. S. As I can't write to many of your friends, I hope all will excuse me.

Sunday noon, July 19th.—I am just going out to walk in town, to make some visits with the *jailer*. H. B.

The following is a notice of the arrest and proceeding alluded to, taken from the "New World:"

LEXINGTON, *July* 21*st*.

On Tuesday last Herman Blennerhassett arrived in this town from the Mississippi Territory. Immediately on his arrival he was arrested, at the instance of Mr. Saunders, on a civil process, and before his discharge was again arrested by the marshal for the Kentucky district, on an affidavit made by Mr. David Meade, the purport of which was, that Blennerhassett had been indicted for treason, and a true bill found by the grand jury at Richmond, Virginia. It fortunately happened that Judge Todd was in town, before whom Mr. Blennerhassett was immediately brought; but as he wished to be heard by counsel, he was committed to jail, and ordered to be again before the judge at nine o'clock the next morning, at which time he read to the court an affidavit which he had drawn up. The crowd was so great that the editor was unable to hear the whole of it, but he understood it went to give a history of his arrest and discharges in the

Mississippi Territory; of his being on his journey home, when he heard at Danville of the indictment being found against him; of the means he used to ascertain the truth of the report; and that being satisfied of its correctness, he had hastened to this place, to surrender himself to Mr. Bibb, attorney for the United States; that soon after he arrived he was arrested upon a civil process; that he had met with Mr. Clay, to whom he communicated his intentions, and requested advice as to the mode he should adopt; that Mr. Clay said he was too much engaged to attend at that time to his applications, but promised to see him on the subject at nine o'clock the next day. He declared it to be his wish to be sent on to Richmond to receive his trial at that place. Mr. Clay, as counsel, assured the court, that he was instructed by his client to express his wish to be sent on for trial; he only wished an unnecessary rigor might not be observed, and that he might be forwarded in a manner as delicate as the nature of his situation would permit. Mr. Clay at the same time took the liberty, as a citizen, to protest against, or rather object to, the mode which had been pursued by the court; he viewed the proceedings unprecedented and illegal. He, however, wished it to be understood, that his observations were made as a citizen, and not at the instance of Mr. B.; it was his real wish to be sent on for trial. Mr. Bibb stated that he had provided himself with authorities to prove the proceedings proper; but that he had that morning inquired of Mr. Clay whether any exceptions would be taken to the legality of the proceedings, and being informed that none would be taken, had neg-

lected to bring his authorities into court; that he was now surprised to find the exceptions taken.

Mr. Clay stopped him again, to declare that the exceptions were not by the consent of Mr. B., who he believed was really desirous of being conveyed to Richmond.

Mr. Blennerhassett assured the court that Mr. Clay had justly stated his desire, and pledged himself, that whatever might be the decision of the judge, he would accompany Mr. Meade, the deputy-marshal, to Richmond. But he wished not to be understood as making a parade of willingness which he did not feel, of meeting investigation, as he was more desirous of going as a prisoner at the public charge, than at his own expense, as his fortune was greatly impaired. He made an affecting appeal to the citizens of Lexington, which would have been very favorably received, had not the high crimes with which he was charged forcibly rebutted it. He spoke of the friendly attention and hospitable treatment experienced by himself and family, and hoped they would not believe, without evidence, that their attentions had been bestowed on unworthy objects.

The judge took time to make up an opinion as to the proceedings which ought to be had in the case; and issued a warrant for his commitment and safe keeping, until the district-judge could be applied to, who ordered him to be delivered to the court in Richmond, without delay.

He was yesterday sent off, attended by Mr. Meade and a guard of five men.

LEXINGTON, *July 22d*, 1807.

SIR:—Your favor of the 20th was delivered to me; the apology you offer, on the subject of my fee, is abundantly sufficient, and the compensation you propose, adequate. You will be pleased to inclose a Virginia bank note to me from Richmond, by the mail. I did not understand that by the agreement between Mr. Sanders and you, Mr. Miller was to be any way interested in the "deed of trust" upon your Island, and am pretty positive it was not agreed that he should be concerned in it, which is evident, indeed, from the face of the deed itself. Nevertheless, you may give Miller an order upon Sanders, to pay him out of the proceeds of the sale of the Island, if they should exceed Mr. S.'s demand, and Mr. Alston should not be willing or forced to pay according to his engagement. I think, therefore, you ought to acknowledge the deed before the General Court in Virginia. You will only, by refusing to do it, give Mr. Sanders the unnecessary trouble of having the deed returned to be proven and certified from this place, or commencing a suit against you, to coerce an acknowledgment.

Your obedient servant, HENRY CLAY.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

NATCHEZ, *August 8d*, 1807.

MY DEAREST HUSBAND:—After having experienced the greatest disappointment at not having heard from you for two mails, I at length learn of your arrest, which afflicts and mortifies me, because it was an arrest.

think, had you of yourself gone to Richmond, and solicited a trial, it would have accorded better with your pride, and you would have escaped the unhappiness of missing my letters, which I wrote every week to Marietta. God knows what you may feel and suffer on our account before this reaches you to inform you of our health and welfare, in every particular; and knowing this, I trust and feel your mind will rise superior to every inconvenience that your present situation may subject you to; despising, as I do, the paltry malice of the upstart agents of Government, and that you may in some measure be the means of exposing them to the world. Let no solicitude whatever for us damp your spirits; we have many friends here, who do the utmost in their power to counteract every disagreeable sensation which I suffer from your absence. I have removed into a part of Mr. Moon's house, where I can scarcely feel the heat of the weather, having let mine to the French Consul, who has come to reside here. The boys have a good school, and I find many conveniences here which I wanted at Poindexter's house. Mrs. Whittle spends most of her time here, which is a great advantage now, when I do n't go any-where, which I have determined not to do till I learn the result of your affairs, though pressed by all my acquaintances to go to the country, where I spent some time before I learned of the alteration of your course. I inclose several letters of business to General Tupper, at Marietta, for you, among which was the one that Mr. Sorrel, of this place, had in his possession when he passed you in the wilderness, but which can be of no consequence now. Mr. Biggs has returned with only three

negroes, not having been able to procure funds for more. I shall live in the hope of hearing from you next mail, and entreat you, by all that is dear to us, not to let any disagreeable feelings on account of our separation enervate your mind at this time. Remember, that every one will read with great interest whatever concerns you, but still, do n't trust too much to yourself; consider your want of practice at the bar, and, if I still retain the same influence over you which you have over me, do n't spare the fee of a lawyer; we shall never miss it in this country, and if we did, that, in such a case, should be no consideration now. Assure Col. Burr of my warmest acknowledgments for his and Mrs. Alston's kind remembrance, and tell him to assure her that she has inspired me with a warmth of attachment that never has, nor ever can diminish while I live. I wish him to urge her to write to me: a letter from her now would be most acceptable God bless you! M. BLENNERHASSETT.

I hope you have done tormenting yourself about the loss of my picture. I inclosed you, to Marietta, what is of infinitely more value, the profiles of the two darling lovely boys.

To Mrs. M. Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND PENITENTIARY,

Tuesday, Aug. 4th, 1807.

Do n't startle at a word; I am not in the quarters of old M——; you must wait for a description of my lodging until I conclude some little account of my journey

This has been as comfortable and accommodating as the severity of the weather and much fatigue would permit. The guard, consisting of five gentlemen, vied with each other all the way in emulating the exertions of that excellent young man, David Meade, to promote my ease. I had, consequently, no restraint, and might, I believe, have effected my escape, if I had been disposed to attempt it. We arrived in town to-day, the 16th inclusive since we left Lexington, a quarter before 2 o'clock. We rode up to the Washington tavern, where we had an excellent dinner; after which I was visited by another deputy-marshal with a warrant for high-treason, and conducted in a carriage to this place, where I am lodged in a suite of commodious apartments, affording me a walk of forty paces in length, lately occupied by Col. Burr, who has been removed to another house, under guard, for the more convenient intercourse with his counsel during his trial; these are numerous, and all volunteers in his defense. I was not half an hour here when I had a lively note from Col. Burr, a present of tea, sugar and cakes from Mrs. Alston, and a visit from Alston, and Edmond Randolph, to offer his advice and services gratis. Morgan Neville has been looking for me, and was denied admittance to my room at the tavern, through officiousness or mistake, for all my friends may come here to me, though I can't go out to them. Mr. Randolph and Alston assure me the prosecutions for treason have already become ridiculous among the best informed, so that none of us will probably be hanged, nor can a conviction for the misdemeanor be effected from any thing we can learn, any more than from any acts or declarations of ourselves,

for none such ever escaped us to warrant one. Our only indemnity, therefore, will consist in our promoting the *eclat*, or whatever it may be, which will reward the zeal of the Government for our persecution.

I had a visit to arrest the progress of my letter from Mr. Mercer; he sat fully two hours with me, and was as interesting as he always is. My new lodging, though spacious and commodious, is unfurnished; I have therefore been forced to have indispensable necessaries furnished from the tavern, which, however, I shall only continue until I can make more economical arrangements. In my anxiety to save for you and the boys, I must still indulge my pride by spurning the liberal subsistence allowed by the United States to their State prisoners, of fifty cents per day. I hope you will duly receive my two letters from Lexington jail, and forward the things I therein wrote for. Request of Harding to see or write to Tyler, to advise him to offer a surrender of himself, and get subpened, if he does not hear soon after you get this, that the Government will abandon the chase they are at present engaged in; I say abandon, for it is now generally believed, by all parties, that two of the grand jury, of the most respectable character, would not have concurred in finding any bill for treason, and none, probably, would have been found, if these had not mistaken the meaning of the judge's report of his opinion in case of Swartwout and Ogden. Having yesterday rode forty-five miles, and thirty-five to-day, before the variety of incidents that has occupied me this evening, and having other matters to engage me for an hour before I go to bed, I will reserve the rest of this sheet for such part of

the news of to-morrow as may concern me, and may not reach you through the papers. Good night.

Wednesday, 11 *o'clock*, *P. M.*—Variety is charming, and never more pleasantly exemplified than in the succession of that of my levees here. I believe I should have been stupid, or perhaps indisposed a little to-day, from the transition from great exercise in the open air and broiling sun to sudden confinement, if I was not almost hourly stimulated by the appearance of some person I am pleased to see, or the hearing of some news to interest me. As to persons, I have seen this morning Mr. Botts, who will also take part in my defense, without pecuniary compensation from me, and I expect his example will be followed to-morrow by a similar offer from Mr. Wickham. Tell Harding my indictment, as appears from a printed copy sent to me this evening, contains two counts; the first for levying war against the United States on the 10th of December, which will be attempted to be supported by the perjured evidence of Taylor and Albright, of resistance made to General Tupper's arresting me; while Tupper will prove he never attempted to arrest me, or any of the party; for which insolent behavior of his, bye-the-bye, it is rumored that he is threatened also with a State prosecution. The other count is for planning, and going down the river on the 11th, to effect the seizure of New Orleans, which I suppose the evidence of the Hendersons is chiefly relied upon to maintain; but this testimony I shall also, I expect, be able to defeat; also, let him know or read that in filling many of the blank spaces with my name, which occurs several times, an *e* is uniformly used in the Christian name, instead of an *a*, as I have ever

written it, and in the surname an *a* is as often used as an *e*. I want to learn from him whether any, and what, advantages may be taken of these variances, and when?

To return to my visitors—D. Woodbridge and Edmond Dana called in the morning, both my friends, by whom I heard Joe had safely given all the papers I charged him with to Col. Cushing. A great deal of property has been sold, I hear, but the purchasers are friendly enough to offer to let me have it, by placing them as they were before the sales. No negroes are sold, but all are vagrant and *latitant;* still none will be lost. The laws of Virginia and Kentucky only allow an absent debtor or defendant to come in within seven years, and set aside, or seek redress for a sale made against law or equity. Again, it seems as if every one I ever knew, and more, were now in Richmond; for to-day the prosecuting counsel had about one hundred witnesses called in court, and, for the second time, put off the trial for two days, because about fifty more did not appear; and nothing less than Morgan Neville and Bob Robison were here this evening.

Friday, 8 *o'clock, A. M.*—I was a little indisposed yesterday, which, with the hinderance of company, etc., prevented my writing. A small dose of ipecac. has to-day restored my strength and appetite, so that I hope I have already surmounted whatever seasoning may have been necessary to fit me for the sojourn I shall make in this place. Mr. Wickham, as was expected, waited upon me, with Mr. Botts; these, with Mr. Randolph, all three my gratuitous counsel, I severally and distinctly assured, no apprehension of a capital conviction, or sentence of death, could induce me to draw from the sympathies and exi-

gencies of my family to defray any charge of my defense, either at present or any after period I could contemplate. Mr. W., a staunch Federalist, and Messrs. Randolph and Botts, perhaps as warm Democrats, are of opinion I shall be enlarged on Col. Burr's acquittal of the treason charge, if I can procure bail for the misdemeanor, which I suppose I could easily do, but would as soon remain where I am, until all the claims of Government upon me are disposed of. It will much depend on the progress and turn of Burr's trial, when mine can come on, though our cases will be kept as wide apart as truth and their merits justly require. It is truly painful to me to tell you to expect nothing from the Island, though most of the purchasers, even Miller, the principal, would return the property on the terms I have before mentioned; yet the recovery of any thing depends on his acceptance of the best and only arrangements Alston can make. Alston is endeavoring to raise money here to meet all the demands, the success of which I shall learn to-day or to-morrow, but little depend upon. On failure of this, he, Alston, will assume the whole, payable one-half a year from next January, the remainder the January following, with interest. The impossibility, he declares, to raise money in Carolina, by sale or mortgage, and his having *fewer negroes* than his *estates require*, make this the best arrangement he can make; but which, I fear, will not be accepted. I will endeavor to learn and effect the speediest means of forwarding to you as many of the negroes as possible, which, I suppose, you will hire out; but, in all your affairs, be Harding your guide.

Alston talks confidently of Burr's recovering his de-

mands upon Government, to the amount of $50,000. This event would be prosperous, indeed, but I have little faith in it. Mercer has sat an hour with me since last sentence; news to-day by him is all war, traced up to declarations by the President, that the ground the Government will take is the inviolability of a neutral flag; every one is in arms, to be ready on the first signal to take Quebec and the West Indies. Mercer prays you to accept the admiring homage of his remembrance; I send my letters for you, by arrangement with him under cover to his friend B. Taylor, Esq., attorney-at-law, Alexandria, who will duly forward them to Scott. You will also inclose to the same gentleman, who will forward your letters to me through Mr. Mercer. I have just received a tender of friendship by Mr. Ormsby, of Kentucky, from General Henry Lee, and offers of soups, jellies, etc., from Mrs. Carrington, with their compliments.

From your husband, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

Sunday, August 4th.

MY DEAR SIR:—You may take it an ill compliment that I tell you I am heartily glad to hear of your arrival. Mr. Alston and Mr. Neville successively made attempts to see you at the tavern, but were denied. Having this minute heard that you have gone to my late quarters, I send to inquire of your health, of that of Mrs. Blennerhassett's, and in what I can be useful to you. What counsel shall I send you?

Faithfully yours, A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

August 5th, 1807.

I am much gratified, my dear sir, by your letter and notes. It is impossible for us to communicate freely, except through the intervention of counsel. I recommend to you to employ Mr. Randolph and Mr. Botts, and that you write a line to each of them this morning. They will not expect money, at least at present, and when I shall be discharged, I shall be able to furnish it. Write also to your friend Emmett,* to come on *forthwith*. My trial is essentially yours; it will settle principles which will govern in both. The political character of Mr. Emmett will give him weight; and it is greatly to be desired that a man of discernment and impartiality should witness the mode of these prosecutions and the extraordinary efforts and extraordinary means used to produce conviction, right or wrong.

Your faithful friend, A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

If there be any thing wanting to your comfort, advise me.

To Mrs. Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND PENITENTIARY, *Aug. 13th*, 1807.

All is going on very well; I am hearty and in good spirits, but have only time to charge you to suffer not the appearance of a summons to bring you here, or to fret

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* Thomas Addis Emmett, of New York.

you, and tell you you must *not obey* it. Your want of funds, and the helpless state of your children, must oppose a barrier, which the Government will not venture to break down. Tell Harding to be of the same mind with my excellent counsel here. Adieu! in haste for the mail.

H. BLENNERHASSETT.

MRS. M. BLENNERHASSETT.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

Friday, August 14th.

I perceive the advantages from your presence, but am not at this moment able to decide whether the thing be practicable. One or more of our counsel will wait on you this afternoon, to confer on this and other points.

I am surrounded by visitors, which prevents me from adding more than the assurances of my respect and attachment.

A. BURR.*

To Blennerhassett.

NATCHEZ, *August 16th.*

Your first letter from Lexington has just come to hand, and, notwithstanding the predictions of your former one, I do n't find it by any means so melancholy as the first I received, as it assures me of your accommodations in that place (which I can neither bear to repeat or write) to be

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* Burr's answer to a note wishing to be informed if he (Blennerhassett) could be allowed to examine witnesses as his (Burr's) agent or advocate, or at least be present at their examination.

much better than I expected. I also feel now, that in such a court as Richmond, absolute falsehoods can't pass, when, in opposition to all that can be sworn to by Wood county, you have the most respectable witnesses from the State of Ohio; and surely every person in Belpré can testify that Tyler's boats landed on the Island in noonday, and had no arms on board, and admitting that what all these villains said were true, how were you concerned in what was done by Tyler or others? Ashley has told Mr. Harding that Peter Taylor said something that injures you; and Col. Burr writes in his letter to Harding, which I have seen, that "Mr. Blennerhassett has injured him, both by what he has said and what he has written." Good God! what a world this is: tell Col. Burr, from me, if you think it worth while, that I wanted not this aggravation to my unhappiness; at least, that I looked not for aggravations from him. He also writes to tell you to place your family with Mrs. Alston: tell him were Mrs. Alston *only* in question, I would now, this moment, without hesitation, take refuge with her, and that I should not think my life even worth its present value, did not I hope once more to see and converse with that woman whom I think almost above human nature; but I would at the same time do nothing that might lessen the dignity of the attachment I feel for her.

We are under the greatest obligations to Doctor Commins, for carrying your package, which you will receive sooner than you could any other way.

I believe, from what I have learned, that Tyler will injure you, if he can; he is by this time arrested. Now let me again intreat you to spare no costs that can serve

you; if our negroes come down from the Ohio, I repeat again, we can make a good beginning here. Capt. Percy has been here again, urging me to go to the Spanish dominions, where you will be well received, and where I shall make a visit, when I know the termination of your prosecution. I spent three days at Col. Scott's since I wrote the letter you will receive with this. You may perceive my spirits are much mended; but I am still determined to adhere to what I then said I would, in case the perjury of the mob should prevail; though every conversation I hear on the subject tends to encourage me, at least with regard to yourself. I shall write every mail to assure you of the health of myself and the boys.

Farewell for another week! remember that your family are well, and that you are adored by your

M. BLENNERHASSETT.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

To Blennerhassett.

NATCHEZ, *Aug. 26th*, 1807.

My usual depression of spirits has been much increased by not having received any letter from you by this mail, aided by the shock of hearing from Ashley to-day, for the first time, that it was by the perjury of Peter Taylor that a bill was found against you. 'T is true, I feel fully confident such evidence must be done away with; but I also feel, that it is owing to this alone that you are in your present situation, the thoughts of which haunt me night and day. Gracious God! confined in a prison in the dog-days, and by the perjury of a wretch not many degrees

from a brute! I used to give him credit for the utmost honesty; but it is in vain, I am convinced more and more every day, to expect principle without some refinement, at least where interest is concerned. Ashley says he hears they have given the wretch a tract of land somewhere. If this can be proved, it will be sufficient. As for Albright, I can make oath to his secreting our two negroes, who ran away when you left the Island; and Elmwood, the blacksmith, told me of his taking stolen melons and sweet potatoes to Marietta to sell for negro Jim, whom he saw steal them out of the field, where there were no others but mine. I see plainly enough, the Wood county rabble only want some pretext to vindicate their plunder; but I feel great confidence in the evidence I trust you will have from Marietta and Belpré, and hope no lawyers' fees will be spared. Why can't I be with you? But I feel it would not do; your mind is stronger without me, and the boys are an insurmountable objection to my going round, which I should only do in a case that I hope can't possibly happen.

I have only been to Mrs. Scott's since I heard of your arrest, and shall probably not go anywhere until I learn the result. Miss Percy is still with me. Major T., who visits me often, begs to be kindly remembered to you. Dr. Commins left home, I believe, three days ago, for Richmond, where he was called as a witness by Government. He took with him all the papers, etc., you wrote for from Lexington, but I suppose this will reach you first, though he went through the wilderness and took a pack-horse.

The boys are well, and still, thank God! insensible of your situation, though they often pierce me to the heart by their questions about you, and threaten very often, when I correct them, to "tell their pappy how bad I am." They both of them join in sending, to use their own phrase, "their good love to their dear pappy."

I wish, when your mind is fully disengaged from your present embarrassments, that you would make a thorough calculation of the profits and losses between this country and the one we have left. Perhaps you may sell the Island; if you can do so, it will be best; if not, nothing but a certain loss would prevent my wish of returning there. My attachment for that place is strong indeed, but not so strong as to entirely counterbalance our interest; at the same time, I would have you consider there is only one thing in favor of this country—the raising of cotton—which for a moment gives it any preference; for, in spite of all you may have heard, it is a *sickly country*, both for black and white. Intermitting fever is inevitable; both the children have had it, but Harman's was the worst; he was completely cured by Dr. S., with whom I am much delighted as a physician. Dominick was then attacked, but I stopped the progress of the disorder myself. I am told Bayou Sara is much more healthy generally than the vicinity of Natchez, where fevers are constant; and from this statement of the sickness of this country I leave you to judge how far it will agree with your constitution. As to mine, I believe it is impossible I ever should have an "intermittent;" I only suffer at times from the pain in my breast, which uni-

formly increases in proportion to the anxiety of my mind. I grow very thin, notwithstanding my appetite is good; but I believe nobody's mind ever had more influence on the body than mine, but do n't let this concern you; all I suffer now will only tend to make me completely happy, on your delivery from your present situation, which, I begin to think, must take place soon. 'T is not possible you can be injured by the perjury of such complete fools.

The cotton crop promises very badly on account of the drought, in all the land about Natchez; but wherever the land is new, the drought does not affect it. Now let me urge you to weigh well the advantages and disadvantages of this country, and let your mind be no way influenced by what you have thought of the society of the place. It is not what I at first supposed it; and any way, I consider it scarce a feather in the scale. If you can sell the Island, do n't hesitate to do so; if not, consider that while we are making money here we are losing it by the house going to rack, and the land lying idle there; whereas, if we can keep up that place, it, with the increase of our negroes, will be enough for the boys; then, on the other hand, if we go to Bayou Sara and plant cotton for four or five years, we may, at the end of that time, be enabled to go to the Northern States. Consider well what I have said, and remember that, at all events, your happiness is the first object with your

M. BLENNERHASSETT.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND, *August 27th*, 1807.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Luckett* and I have an unsettled account to a considerable amount. He holds a bill indorsed by you. If you can devise means to procure him any aid at this moment, it would gratify me much.

Your faithful and obedient, A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

Burr to Blennerhassett.

September 1st, 1807.

DEAR SIR:—It seems that some misapprehension exists on the subject of the bill held by Mr. Luckett. I could not with delicacy propose to you to take up my bill; but I repeat that it would gratify me that it could be done. My present inability is too manifest. Yours, perhaps, not very different. If, however, you choose to request Alston to assume this bill as part of his engagement to you, the arrangement would give me real pleasure, and I have no doubt may be made satisfactory to him.

I felicitate you on the events of yesterday, and am alway faithfully yours.

A. BURR.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

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* Mr. Luckett advanced money to Col. Burr on Blennerhassett's indorsement.

To Mrs. Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND, VA., *Sept.* 11*th*, 1807.

A few days have elapsed since I might have written to you to announce the second event that rendered last Monday remarkable as a day on which I might be supposed to have been elated with the long desired change of my condition for the better. That was the termination of my imprisonment, by the abandonment on the part of the prosecutors of the indictment against me for treason, and my admission to bail, under the other indictment for a misdemeanor. But the receipt of your letter of the 3d ultimo, by a speedy arrival, was the event which constituted the first blessing that day returned to so many hopes and prayers offered up to obtain it. I have since received, I believe, all your other letters from Marietta, though your negligence in omitting dates distresses me, as I am ignorant of any time which I can connect with any thing you tell me of yourself, the boys, or our friends. I am delighted with the profiles. It would cost you more calculation than you will ever enter upon to discover the one-hundredth part of the lines, or parts of lines and curves, on which I shall rapturously speculate in these bits of paper. You know it is not my temper to feel surprise or emotion on transition from one extreme to another. I therefore passed from imprisonment to liberty with the same unconcern with which you have sometimes observed me to take the air, after three days voluntary confinement. But this may be more explicable from some daily notes I have kept for you since my arrival at Lexington. Our ingenious Harding will

not be a little surprised to learn from you, that after a deprivation of liberty for fifty-three days, I was freed from the treason case, on which I had been arrested at Lexington, without arraignment, and shall probably get clear of the misdemeanor case in the same way, by the success of six similar points, which will be decided, I expect to-morrow, by the court, in favor of Burr. So you see I have little prospect of an opportunity to speak in my own cases, especially as I am so well provided with counsel. Still there is a chance of *my* being here put on trial for the misdemeanor, or being involved in the issue of a motion to send us to the Kentucky district for trial, in either of which events I shall say something.

I have had two dollars worth of letters forwarded from Philadelphia: first, from Ireland; two from Martin, one telling me to inquire after an estate he thinks has fallen to me of £6,000 a year, by the death of Lord Ross, *ci-devant* Oxmantown, and Captain Jones, in the West Indies, next to whom I stand in the entail. I do not wish you to build at all on this intelligence, though it is not at all improbable it may be realized. Should that ever happen, in how many instances may our gratitude do justice, in fact, to our dispositions. I hope I shall within a week re-open the small credit our narrow funds will entitle us to in Philadelphia. Lewis has already written to me, to say he will endeavor to have every bill taken up his house had rejected, that he can come at. I board with Major Smith, at a comfortable house, as cheap as we can, i. e., at seven dollars a week each, but shall proceed to Marietta as soon as I am discharged from the court, as I do not expect any attempt,

if made for our transmissal to another district, will prevail. Do, however, continue to write hither until otherwise advised.

I can add little more by this mail than to say, I am not sufficiently satisfied you can so surely be healthy where you are, in the fall, as if you were six or seven miles from the river. Therefore, on the earliest threatening to yourself or the boys of any autumnal attack, I entreat and enjoin you to let nothing prevent your removal.

It would be impossible to enumerate all our excellent and accomplished friends; still more so to say the hundredth part of what my gratitude would express to them for their generous attention to you. You will acquit me of this duty with every one of them as well as you can. I wrote to Harding, who I hope will long enjoy his and Winthrop's good health. Colonel and Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Whittle, and friends, have, with many others, claims upon my grateful regards that will never be obliterated.

Your husband, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

P. S. I will endeavor to execute so much of your wishes as time and circumstances will permit.

To Mrs. Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND, VA., *Oct. 7th*, 1807

I write this by Col. McKee, who leaves town to-day for Natchez; though, from occasional interruptions he expects in his journey, you may not get it until after one or two other letters of more advanced date may reach you by post

It will, however, serve to quiet your anxiety for my delay in arriving at Natchez, as that pleasure must give way to the control of contingencies I can not govern. This day all the evidence is closed on the motion now before the court, for our transmissal to Kentucky; the debates will end, and the motion be refused, I have every reason to believe, by Saturday; but, in that event, I shall be detained, three or four days, to put my demands on Col. Burr on some footing of adjustment; after which I propose to use all diligence I can to haste to Marietta, from whence, I fear, I shall find great difficulty in effecting the recovery and removal of the negroes. I can not teaze you with particulars of my expectations; I may have to go to Philadelphia or South Carolina, and, possibly, not be able to descend the river until after it shall break up in the latter part of January. You must economize in the mean time, and seek all the resources you can draw from the friends who surround you. I will write again by Tuesday's post; I have not cared to risk many letters, as you see weekly by the papers, or must conclude, I am every day before the court. I wish you to be very reserved in all your communications, except with Harding, whom I wonder you have not mentioned in every letter I received from you. I had none since Sunday's mail, and since the news of our boy's sickness, by yours of 25th August; I am truly miserable in my alarms for my Harman, whose situation, as well as your own, with regard to the pain in your breast, I can see you have imparted to me with reluctance and reserve.

Perhaps we shall yet enjoy ease and wealth, if Martin's expectations of my succeeding to the estates of the late

D. Harman, by the death of Lord Oxmantown, and Capt. Jones, shall be realized; therefore, I only beseech Heaven to inspire you with the same prospects of contentment and delight with which I can enjoy the remainder of my days in a cottage with you and our boys—God grant I am warranted to add them. Assure Dr. S. of perfect esteem and confidence in his talents and learning, and cultivate the opportunities of his closest attendance upon yourself and the boys. I have no news by *this opportunity;* it is *uncertain* and precarious. Adieu!

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

P. S. I hope Harding has not missed hearing that J. S. Lewis, in his individual capacity, will honor bills, drawn for your necessities, to the amount of $500.

Devereaux to Blennerhassett.

BALTIMORE, *Oct. 12th*, 1807.

MY DEAREST FRIEND:—I know you must think it strange at not having heard from me since your arrival in Richmond, and I am sure you must think it untimely in bidding you now farewell, to give only this paltry proof of my most affectionate regard and friendship; yes, my dear Blennerhassett, my thoughts have been constantly occupied in reflecting on those poignant and trying afflictions, with which it has pleased a cruel destiny to overwhelm you, and for which I feel, not as the general run of mankind, but as one, I may say without vanity, not unworthy to participate, as I really and sincerely do, in your griefs. How often have I thought of

Mrs. Blennerhassett; I feel so much for your misfortunes that I durst not glance at the cause of them. I am now on the eve of embarking for our loved and native country; I go by the way of England, for the more safety. Permission was granted me, by the last administration, to return for a twelvemonth, and I now take advantage of it in the hope of recovering my former estate, which, if I should, I may not only be a very independent, but a rich man in this country. Should I succeed, my friend—of which there is but little doubt—you and your estimable lady shall find by my actions, instead of words, what I truly and sincerely feel toward you both. In the mean time, I have made a friend for you, who offers to come forward in a pecuniary point of view, if necessary. The person is Mr. Pierce Butler, of Philadelphia, a noble-minded countryman of ours, with whom you need feel no scruple in calling upon in this way. The offer came, unsolicited, from himself, and he requested me to mention it to you. As I *can not*, unfortunately, at present, do more, I have nothing more to say, and conclude, my dear friend, with an affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Blennerhassett,

Your truly attached and unalterable friend,

J. DEVEREUX.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

To Mrs. Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND, VA., *Oct.* 19*th*, 1807.

This day's mail, my beloved, brought me your double letter from Natchez, and Col. Ellis's, of the 3d and 8th

ult., though I see, by the Washington postmark, it did not leave that office before the 15th. You have not, I find, been spared by the climate. Well, I trust in the favor of Heaven for the full re-establishment of your health, through the same mercy to me that has granted your recovery. My misery has been severe, from not having heard from you for three weeks back. During my anxiety for the cause of my disappointment, I attributed the latter to a relapse of Harman's sickness, which much distressed me. There is certainly a Providence which ordains, in compassion of our weaknesses, that we shall sometimes dread calamities far less than that it is pleased to conceal from us. But why do you permit your concern for me to weaken your strength or deject your spirits? you might conclude from the papers, the worst that can befall me is the loss of three or four months' detention from you. To-morrow, I expect we will all be discharged; after which nothing shall retard my return to you, but the care I must give to your property and affairs. Why fret about what you regard without due consideration, the disappointment of that confidence you have heedlessly placed in mankind? What claim could your merits have upon the envy of upstarts? Is not the sincere attachment of two or three friends of more value than the momentary and lying attentions of the crowd? But why dwell as you do upon the Island? Have you forgotten Marietta and Wood county, or can you regenerate them? or, if we should succeed to £6,000 or £7,000 a year, by the decease of Lord Oxmantown, etc., would you bury it with ourselves on the Island? Compose yourself, therefore, till we meet, if it should not be these six

months; if we should still prefer a cabin near Fort Adams, but six miles *from* the *Mississippi swamp*, where none of us, please God, need fear to encounter the climate. I rejoice to learn that you find a new friend to replace some old ones, who have not stood the test. If *H.* has not sunk the man in the merchant, he will prove a brilliant exception to Harding's rule, pronounced against the influence of mercantile habits and obscure birth. It will be no consideration with him, that we may yet draw for his indemnity upon other funds than our grateful hearts. Harding's own rule will preserve him steadfast; but you should not mention to any living person the pecuniary prospects opened to us, were it only the better to enable us to prove the hearts of others, but also because it may not be realized.

It will not surprise you to learn that I have had unsolicited offers of horses and money, which I have declined. No less than three Irishmen have come forward in this way; namely, Jas. O'Hennessey, a Kerry-man, who never spoke to me until he rode hither, 105 miles to see me; Mr. Pat. Hendren, a lawyer, in easy circumstances, settled thirty miles from hence; and Mr. Pierce Butler, whom I have never seen, who resides in Philadelphia, is very wealthy, and has made an unlimited offer through D——. Mr. Chevallié̱r lent me $1,000 to-day, to send to a negro sale, which I have not used, and shall return untouched; and, while I was confined in the Penitentiary, General H. Lee offered me similar aid through a friend. Thus we find a few choice spirits to compensate for the inconstancy of false friends. May they reconcile us to the world.

I have only written one letter by mail since I left the Penitentiary. I missed two post-days through my attendance on the court, or some other unavoidable occupation; but I confided two letters for you to private conveyance, by Strickland and Col. McKee; if you have not already discontinued writing to me at this place, you will do so from the time this reaches you. I shall possibly go to Baltimore and Philadelphia before I see the Ohio; if so, I shall accompany Burr to one or the other, in a day or two. I forbear to trouble you with my motives until I can impart the result.

Our long-protracted contest with the Government has blasted Wilkinson's fame and credit, never to be revived, though the investigations may not exhibit Burr's character or designs unequivocally immaculate. But my name has so regularly met your eye in the papers weekly, that it was unnecessary to detail particulars; you would, of course, conclude I was daily present in court. As to my health, I never enjoyed better; though I had two or three slight illnesses while in confinement, I have since recovered much more flesh than I lost there.

Tuesday, 20th.—Since writing the above, yesterday evening, I had a pretty long consultation with Burr, the result of which is a more probable conjecture that I shall go to Philadelphia with him, to try his success there in raising some money for me. I will write frequently to advise you of my movements. I have no words to express my feelings for Kitty Perry's kindness. I hope we shall ever retain her attachment.

Your husband, H. BLENNERHASSETT.

For various reasons, which it is not necessary here to enumerate, the trials of Burr, Blennerhassett, Dayton, John Smith of Ohio, Comfort Tyler, Israel Smith of New York, and Davis Floyd, were postponed, from time to time, until the third of August. From the fifth until the seventeenth of the month, the court was engaged in obtaining a jury for the trial of Burr, and discussing points of law.

Never before, in the history of the country, was witnessed so grand a display of legal acumen and forensic talent. Upon the bench sat the venerated Marshall, spotless in purity, and, for soundness of judgment, without an equal. Calm, dignified, and attentive, he analyzed the arguments of counsel, and noted their relevancy with the nicety of a critic. At the bar was Wirt, whose fervid and soul-thrilling eloquence, even on this very trial, placed him at once among the first of American orators. With a brilliancy of imagination which startled his auditors, he swayed the minds of the jury with wonderful effect. There, too, was Martin, who had been previously distinguished, in the trial of Judge Chase, before the United States Senate. Every word that he uttered, like a two-edged sword, pierced the arguments of his opponents at every point. There was Hay; always ready to take advantage of suspicious circumstances, and wield them, with tenfold force, against the prisoner. There was Randolph,—slow, calculating, and careful; building up the vulnerable points of his case against the attacks of his adversaries. There was Botts,—facetious and playful; sometimes descending to the ludicrous, but often rising, with convincing argument, to the grand. There was Wickham,—dignified and commanding; taking up his

subject with a master hand, and holding it to view, in every conceivable light. And there, too, was Burr,—proudly pre-eminent, in point of intelligence, to his brethren of the bar. He had been the Vice-President of the United States. He was accused of the highest and darkest crime in the criminal code. He stood before the supreme tribunal of his country, with the eyes of the nation gazing upon him. In the opinion of many, he was already condemned. He had the talent and tact, and the resources of the government, to contend against. Every faculty of his mind was exerted in his own defense. The magnitude of the charge; the number of persons involved; the former high standing and extraordinary fortunes of the accused, had excited an interest in the community, such as never before had been known. The witnesses against him were mostly officers of the Government, with whom, at one time or another, he had been in some way connected.

For twenty-six days, the court was arduously engaged in the investigation of the offense. The evidence of sixty witnesses had to be examined and noted. Meanwhile, there being no suitable quarters in the city, Burr was confined in the Penitentiary, in the suburbs of Richmond. Every day he was marched into court, on foot, escorted by a body-guard of two hundred men, which would have done honor to an eastern prince. On the first of September, the jury returned a verdict—"that Aaron Burr is not proved to be guilty, under the indictment, by any evidence submitted to us; we, therefore, find him *not guilty*." Burr objected to the verdict, as being incorrect in point of form, and asked that the same might be given in the usual way—

simply, "Not Guilty." Mr. Hay answered, that, in fact, it was a verdict of acquittal; and that it should be entered in the jury's own words.

"There was no precise form of words by which the jury should be governed."

"They have no right to return a written verdict at all," replied Burr; "they have no right to depart from the usual form." He then called for the recital of the common directions given the jury by the clerk. They were read, and end as follows:

"If you find him guilty, you are to say so: if not guilty, you are to say so, *and no more.*"

"The jury can not be indulged," said Burr. "They have defaced a paper belonging to the court, by writing upon it words which they have no right to write. They ought to be sent back." After a short consultation, it was agreed that the simple verdict of "Not Guilty" might be entered on the records of the court.

On the ninth of September, Burr was again arraigned, upon an indictment for a misdemeanor, which consisted of seven counts; the substance of which was, that Aaron Burr did set on foot a military enterprise, to be carried on against the territory of a foreign prince, viz., the province of Mexico, which was within the territory of the King of Spain, with whom the United States were at peace.

After the prosecution had examined some of their witnesses, and the court had decided that the testimony of others was not relevant, the District Attorney made a motion to discharge the jury. To this motion Burr objected; insisting upon a verdict. This was on the fif teenth of the month. The court, being of opinion that

the jury could not, in this stage of the case, be discharged, without the consent of the accused, they accordingly retired, and very soon returned with a verdict of "*Not Guilty.*"

To Mrs. Blennerhassett.

RICHMOND, VA., *Oct. 22d*, 1807.

Ashley offers a desirable opportunity of informing you of the effect of the final order of the court here, which is, that Burr and myself are to be tried at Chillicothe, on the first Monday in next January, for a misdemeanor. I speak of the effect, because it is generally understood the Government will drop all further proceedings. The judge has given this as his *private* opinion off the bench. Hay has expressed the same belief; and all further ideas of prosecuting for treason must be at an end, as the judge, in giving his opinion yesterday, declared no ground was laid before him, by the evidence, to entertain a suspicion of an overt act, having been committed, which was essential in making out the charge, though he thought proof enough had been exhibited of a *treasonable design.* It is therefore probable the recognizance I entered into yesterday with Doctor Commins and Major Smith, my securities for my appearance at Chillicothe, will in the end be of no other use than to enlarge the records of the court.

Thus, you perceive, I shall probably never again be a prisoner, and will not be prevented from descending the river, before it closes, if I do not learn, by intelligence expected from the President the day after to-morrow, through the Attorney-general, that Government intends to abandon all further proceedings against us.

I think I shall go with "B." from hence, on Saturday, for Philadelphia, four days journey thither, and a stay of three or four days there will leave me a full month for my journey to Marietta, the transacting of whatever business I can finish in that quarter, and getting under way afloat.

I will write a line, through the Federal city, to apprise you of my freedom from further probable molestation by Government, or obstruction in my journey to Natchez, where I hope to arrive, not far from New-Year's day. One way or the other, I am very anxious this information should reach you before you misconstrue or brood upon the statements you see in the papers of A. Burr and myself, being here committed, or sent off to Ohio. My chief object in going to Philadelphia is, to arrange my pecuniary demands upon A. B., though only in the prospect of securing them, and to raise by the friendships of Mr. Butler, or Joe Lewis, as much cash as will enable me to purchase a dozen slaves, whose hire or labor may give us subsistence until we learn the result of our expectations from Ireland, and support our independence after they may fail. I will dispatch my letter through the Federal city this evening, but will not close this before to-morrow, to collect further intelligence for you.

All friends of the Chief Justice here are as much dissatisfied with his opinion yesterday as Government has been with all his former decisions. He is a good man, and an able lawyer, but timid and yielding under the fear of the multitude, led, as it were, by the vindictive spirit of the party in power. But you will console yourself in the assurance of my wanting nothing, through the

support of many friends. And should my obligations, under my recognizance, prevent my return to you, as I had hoped above, you must yet weather it out, without attempting a voyage or a journey which, instead of hastening our meeting, would possibly, at this season, prevent it forever, in this world.

October 23d.—I shall be off to-morrow or next day, with Dr. Commins, etc. He and myself are endeavoring to procure some negroes in partnership, upon part credit, but I can't answer for our success. I have no hopes of learning here, as I expected, the designs of J.; but if they are hostile, I shall find means of effecting my wishes, of which I have little doubt. Endeavor with Capt. P. to procure us a lodging in his *neighborhood;* it may be very *convenient.* You will hereafter learn the motives of this suggestion, but I shall write more fully from Philadelphia.

Saturday, 24th.—I leave this at 5 o'clock to-morrow morning, in company with Dr. Commins; Burr and L. Martin follow next day. I shall stop a day at the Federal city, to learn the disposition of Government, where I have no doubt I shall obtain a release from all further demands upon me in a criminal way; but, if I am not certified of this, I shall not yet be bereft of resources to meet and indemnify you, in as reasonable a space of time as you should expect. I have more to do to-night than will give me half sleep. Farewell! I will write from Philadelphia, if not sooner.

Your faithful husband, HAR. BLENNERHASSETT.

CHAPTER XIII.

[Blennerhassett's Private Journal, kept during the trial, wherein are minutely narrated the incidents which occurred from the time of his arrest, in Kentucky, until his discharge at Richmond.]

RICHMOND, VA., *Aug. 4th*, 1807.

WE set out as usual from Scottsville before day, rode twelve miles to breakfast, then proceeded to T——'s, eight miles on our way, where we rested one hour in excessive heat; afterward, proceeded to Richmond, where we arrived at forty-five minutes past 2, P. M. Distance from Lexington, 564 miles. From T——'s, Mr. Meade sent a note to Major Scott, the federal Marshal for the district of Virginia, to inform him of our approach. We traveled this last stage as usual, until we got within three-quarters of a mile of Manchester, where Mr. Meade left us, at a turnpike gate, and rode off at a quick pace. Now Capt. —— took the command of the party, and said to me that it would be proper to observe some order; to which I answered, I had no objection. He then ordered Mr. Morton, the High Sheriff of Kentucky, and Mr. Willis Morgan, to form a file in front, Mr. McCally and Mr. David Todd to form another in the rear, directing me to ride single between the files, while he took his station in front of the whole; in this order he led the escort with the prisoner, in an easy walk, under a broiling sun, over

a road in which I was almost suffocated by the dust, owing to a long drought with which the country seemed to have been affected, and a smart breeze in our rear. During this embarrassment I called to the gentlemen in front of me to observe, "that I supposed it was not necessary those in the rear should ride so close to me." They did so, probably, from the Captain's having used the words "close order" in forming the procession. Those in front, however, Mr. Morton, or Mr. Morgan, answered me in the negative; upon which the rear file fell back a few paces. We continued still in the same order, in which I endeavored to keep my station, as was assigned me, as nearly as possible, until we drew near to M—— bridge, over James river, when the Captain left his station in the front and rode back to the rear, I suppose to order them to ride closer up, for they immediately afterward did so. We now reached the bridge, on which the Captain shook hands with Col. Meyo, *en passant*, and telling him one of the gentlemen in the rear would pay the toll, which Mr. Todd did very expeditiously, without much deviation from his station. We proceeded at the same gait, until we entered the Main-street, commonly called the Brick-row, where I was disappointed to see no particular notice taken of the party, except by a little boy, who called out to some of his comrades, "O, see the troop of horse, but they have forgot their colors!" The walking gait was still preserved until we got in sight of the Washington tavern, when the Captain was pleased to trot up to the house, in which pace we followed him as closely as possible. On alighting from my horse, I was welcomed by Mr. Meade, in the presence of many gentlemen standing

in the portico. He then asked me to go up stairs, ordered dinner, etc., after which he delivered me into the custody of the Deputy Marshal of the Virginia district, by whom I was conducted in a carriage to the Penitentiary, Mr. Meade and the Captain accompanying me. In the evening I was visited by Mr. Alston, Mr. Mercer and Mr. Randolph; the latter having obligingly tendered me his services and advice as a lawyer. Here my apartments are large and convenient, but very warm, from the hight of the windows preventing a free admission of air. The Deputy Marshal, on taking charge of me, read a warrant by Judge Marshall, but refused to leave it, or a copy, with me.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1807.

I slept until 7 o'clock; had a light breakfast this morning from the tavern; hired a servant at $13 a month, by the week, he finding himself; was visited by Mr. Julian Dandridge, with whom I used to assist here, seven years ago, at the Harmonic Society; by Prichard, the bookseller, whose hospitality I remember then to have received, and who tendered me his best services, reminding me of some pecuniary accommodation I had conferred upon him, which I had forgotten. Visited again by Mr. Alston, who brought me a letter from Col. Burr; also, by Dudley Woodbridge, jun., Edmond Dana, with letters from Miller and Col. Cushing, by Mr. John Banks, who reminded me of my gold chronometer in his possession, and by Mr. Craughton, who conferred great civilities on me seven years ago at Fredericksburg, and now warmly tendered me his best services. Mr. Alston repeated orally

to me the necessity Col. Burr observed in his letter for my employing counsel, as the only proper intermedium of our communications. I assured him I was very desirous of such aid, but was determined not to strengthen my defense, however disastrous the issue of it might prove, by drawing from the exigencies and sympathies of my family a single dollar to defray its charges. He still urged me to write a few lines to Mr. Botts, which I did, stating that I was solicitous of the aid of Mr. B.'s talents on terms I wished to propose to him in person. On Mr. B.'s appearance soon after in my room, I stated to him that Col. Burr and Mr. Alston had expressed a desire that I would employ him, though they were apprised of my determination not to spend a dollar on my defense, being a resolution the exigencies of my family imposed upon me, but Mr. Alston having assured me Col. Burr would arrange the matter with Mr. Botts, I wished Mr. B. to believe I should regard the aid of his talents on my trial as most beneficial to my interests, and flattering to my wishes. Mr. B. handsomely replied to me, by assuring me that he would think it dishonorable to withhold his professional aid from my inability to make him a pecuniary compensation. I returned, that from the state of my affairs that inability would probably be permanent, and again referred him to the contingency of Col. Burr's or Mr. Alston's remunerating him on my account, as well as on Col. Burr's, as it was in this view, and at their special instance I had given him the trouble of calling upon me, though I could sincerely assure him that, were I in circumstances to remunerate him in a degree proportional to the sense I entertained of his talents, etc., he

would be one of the first counsel I should employ. Mr. B. seemed perfectly satisfied, and was pleased to say he would, with my leave, bring Mr. Wickham to see me, who, he was sure, would be happy to assist me in the same way with himself. I thanked this generous and enlightened stranger with all that awkward embarrassment with which the impetuosity of gratitude suffused my countenance, making every pore of my face an outlet to the flow of my heart, which found too narrow an issue at my mouth. It will soon appear how necessary it was to explain the occasion and manner of my interview with Mr. B. I took this opportunity to observe to Mr. Botts, that Mr. Edmond Randolph had last evening called upon me, and obligingly tendered his *advice*, by which I said I could not presume to suppose Mr. R. meant I should consider him as my counsel, gratuitously engaged to defend me on my trial. Mr. Botts was in the act of taking leave when I made this remark to him, which prevented my distinctly understanding his reply. I was visited this evening by my Lexington escort, *en masse*, who took the opportunity to inspect the building and the armory, took their grog, and then took leave. Morton, who arrested me so rudely, while engaged in conversation with Mrs. Jourdan, and Miss Van P——l, at Lexington, endeavored, by the most assiduous attentions on the road, to repair that outrage, and now, I thought, exhibited in his countenance every concern for my situation. I find I have every liberty allowed me but that of passing from under this roof by day, or out of my room by night, the door being locked upon me at 8 o'clock, and opened at sunrise. I have got a supply of groceries and liquors; my dinner

is furnished by the tavern, and I have every prospect of living well. This evening I have inclosed various papers to Mr. Alston, showing him how my property has been sacrificed on the Ohio, and praying his aid to recover it for my children, by virtue of his responsibility for my indorsement of Col. Burr's protested bills. Continued my labors to comfort my poor wife, by another page of a close written letter, and went to bed at midnight.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1807.

Woke this morning with severe headache and general lassitude; took a little breakfast, with no appetite. At 10, A. M., took a small dose of medicine; repeated at noon; had a long conversation with Alston, in which he expressed great concern for the embarrassments occasioned me by my indorsements of the bills; declaring that, for *my sake*, he would do any thing in his power, observing, however, that it was impracticable to raise money in South Carolina by sale or mortgage of lands; that through his anxiety to have all the protested bills taken up, he now had a friend employed in this town, endeavoring to raise as much money as would cover all the demands; that I shall learn the result to-day or to-morrow, which, if successful, would remove all difficulties. I proposed to him an alienation to me on some of the holders of the bills of some negroes to be sold at Natchez, where, I suggested, he might avail himself of the advance they would fetch upon their value in Carolina, and by that means he would probably sink half the demands upon him; but after some *consideration*, he stated the value of slaves in Carolina full as high as it is

at *Natchez;* and at last observed, that his *estates* needed *more slaves* for their cultivation than he owned. He offered, however, to assume all the demands upon me, if the creditors will accept one-half, payable with interest, next January twelvemonth; the other half, etc., the January following. But my children's property is, and will be, irrevocably sacrificed in the mean time.

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi.

Mr. A. next referred to a memorandum he had in his pocket of some inquiries to be made of me on the part of Col. Burr, of which two are remarkable: first, had I written, or would I write, to Emmett, to come to the trial? second, in what instance did I intend, when I observed to Mr. Edm. Randolph, that "Col. Burr had sometimes been too cautious; sometimes, too little so?" To the first I answered, "that I had no doubt Emmett's friendship for me would bring him hither to assist in my defense, if he thought I stood in need of him; but as I was, on the one hand, determined to expend no money in my own defense, I was, on the other, equally averse to bringing my friend on a journey from his large family, or withdrawing his industry from that harvest on which alone that family depended for their support; but could I engage Mr. Emmett at a suitable compensation, I would write to him forthwith." Mr. A. said, "his *expenses* should be paid." I replied, I could not say what Mr. Emmett might understand by the term expenses; but I was sure he would never hand in an account of his tavern-bills or traveling charges. I must, therefore, at

present, decline to disturb him. Mr. A. was now led by some association of ideas to remark, that Messrs. Randolph and Botts had signified to Col. Burr or himself, that, when they offered their professional services to me, I seemed rather to desire to decline them, or consider them as intrusive. This evening, Mr. Botts brought Mr. Wickham to my room, when I asked Mr. Botts "if he understood me in the sense Mr. Alston said he did?" On the contrary, Mr. Botts declared he did not; nor did he think Mr. Randolph did. Mr. Wickham added a few words in compliment of my candor, and said all three considered themselves voluntarily engaged, without any expectation of pecuniary compensation from me. In answer to the second inquiry, I informed Mr. Alston that in making use of the expressions reported to Col. Burr by Mr. Randolph, I alluded to no particular instances, but could easily cite some. I then instanced the confidence reposed by Mr. Burr in General Wilkinson, on which Col. Burr had known my opinion long since, and the committal of himself to Col. Morgan and sons, both as examples of defect of caution on his part, and was proceeding with equal ease to call up errors of an opposite nature (God knows, I know a hundred, both ways), when I was stopped by Mr. A.'s shaking his head, expressing his assent to my remarks on Wilkinson, and interrupting me by saying: "Mrs. Blennerhassett had good reason for her opinion of Col. Morgan." I was the less scrupulous to enter explicitly upon these explanations for the satisfaction of Col. Burr and Mr. A., because I did not feel that Col. Burr had ever suffered as yet from any avoidable

indiscretion of mine; though I was likely to do so far more than I had done already by his errors. I suspected that he had sent Mr. Edm. Randolph to deliver me a lecture on *caution;* and, above all, I should, least of all examples I could imagine, wish to emulate the caution Mr. A. has exhibited to the world. Him, therefore, I regarded as the most improper organ of Col. Burr's wishes; nor was I yet without another motive. I had occasion to inform Mr. A., when on the subject of the protested bills, that Mr. Barton, who had had an interview here with Col. Burr on that business, informed me at Lexington that Col. Burr told him I was a bankrupt, not worth a dollar, or other words fully of the same import, which Mr. Barton protested he would, at any time or place, repeat and support. Bankrupt! Hah! Who made me so? O God of retributive justice! That Col. Burr also declared to him that he did not believe Mr. Alston had executed any writing by which he, Alston, could be bound to me. What! did his memory, perhaps the most energetic of all his talents, here lose its polish by the abrasion of his own calamities? Did he forget that he himself drafted that very paper, after having considered another which Mr. A. had written as insufficient? But Mr. Barton has shown him a copy of the original, and he has probably recognized his own composition.

Received some visits this evening; could get no tea, because Mr. Douglas, the keeper, and Harwood, one of his assistants, were out, and another turnkey, with whom I had not yet got acquainted, would lock me up at nightfall. Headache still continued. I went to bed about 10, being unable to write.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1807.

Was visited by Mr. Mercer, who staid nearly one hour with me; begged, on the part of a lady unknown to me, who did not wish to have her name mentioned, I would accept of soups and jellies from her, if they were desired by my appetite or state of health. I told Mr. M. my gratitude impelled me to take a liberty with the lady, which I hoped her goodness would pardon. It was to engrave her name on the tablets of my heart, and enable my family to consecrate it in their regards. He then mentioned Mrs. Carrington. I prayed him to offer, in his own manner, a more just return of my sentiments than I could express. Soon after, Mr. Ormsby, of Louisville, Kentucky, called upon me to show me a letter signed H. L., directed to him by General Henry Lee, stating that he understood H. B., meaning myself, was friendless in this place, and tendering with warmth any services I might stand in need of. This offer I declined, charging Mr. O. with a suitable *verbal* answer of grateful acknowledgments to the General, of whom Mr. O. cautioned me to beware in case of any dealing with him, at the same time acquainting me that the character of the General was, as I had long before been apprised, that of a man equally violent in his friendships and his enmities. From the numerous instances of a violation of private confidence and public faith that have of late disgraced the Government and the country, by liberties that have been taken or permitted at the Post-offices, I procured, through the friendship of Mr. Mercer, the means of sending my letters and receiving those from my wife, through R.

Taylor, Esq., attorney at law, Alexandria. Closed a long letter to my wife, begun as long ago as Tuesday evening, on my arrival in this place. Began to brief my case for my counsel, of which I finished first folio. Have not seen or heard from Mr. Alston, or Col. Burr, to-day. Received the papers, and continued this journal until past midnight.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1807.

Overslept myself this morning. Spent more time than I could well spare in getting combed and shaved. Read the papers, the Federal one stating that they learn my arrival here; that I speak confidently of my innocence, and desire a speedy investigation. Those on the other side, dropping the "Mister," mention my name in conformity to the style of the President; and his Wood county myrmidons insinuate that I was caught, as it were, fortunately in Kentucky, from which I was brought hither under guard, meaning, no doubt, like a felon or convict, as I should be. For to-day, my only visitor was Mr. Hendren, a lawyer, who resides in Charles City county, and has generously offered to come to town, and live at his own expense, whenever I will permit him to serve me. Mr. H. repeated assurances, which had before been made to me by Mr. John Banks and Mr. Ormsby, that the jury, not only so far as that part of the panel that was returned from Wood county, but all the rest that completed it, from the body of the state, was grossly packed, with the exception of not more than two or three; that Col. Burr and myself could not be too much on our guard, for he was persuaded that every Democrat, to a man, now in this town, was thirsting for our blood, and

"John Jourdan," who has returned here to-day from Wood county, has told me this evening he has brought with him ample evidence of the most damning manœuvres and intrigues that have been practiced in that quarter. Say, Thos. Jefferson! thou philanthropic messenger of peace and liberty to this favored country! under thy administration, are these things unknown to thy tender heart, or are they the unhallowed doings of thy worthy and industrious partisans, to overcharge or adorn the canvass already burdened with the splendor of thy renown? The papers will inform my friends of the progress and conduct of the trial of A. Burr; but perhaps they may learn only from these notes, that the issue of it, whether it prove serious or comical, will be the product of error in the grand jury that found the treason bills; for two of the most respectable and influential of that body, since it has been discharged, have declared they mistook the meaning of Chief Justice Marshall's opinion as to what sort of acts amounted to treason in this country, in the case of Swartwout and Ogden; that it was under the influence of this mistake they concurred in finding such a bill against A. Burr, which otherwise would have probably been ignored. I am well to-day, and had a keen appetite at dinner; soon after which, Jourdan stepped in, but with no particular news regarding my affairs on the Ohio. Saw Robinson and Mr. Simpson summoned with him, on the part of Col. Burr.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1807.

Visited by Prichard, at 9 o'clock, A. M. He stayed fully two hours, during which he confirmed many former

accounts given me of the meanness and cowardice of Jefferson's Attorney General, George Hay, whose insolence to poor Prichard, some years ago, occasioned P. to throw a plate at his head, which terminated the affair, and kept Mr. Attorney, ever after, within the bounds of civility. P. informed me, negroes now sell in this place at the same prices they could be bought at when I was here before, seven years ago. He has offered to get me a woman, aged about thirty years, with two sons, twelve and eight years old, belonging to his sister-in-law, for $500. Eh! Mr. Alston, are negroes so much lower here than in South Carolina? He has also promised to get me Molly's three children, two girls and a boy, if the owners will part with them, upon like reasonable terms—as he thinks they will. After P. left me, I continued the briefing of my case for my counsel, and completed the third folio. If the prosecutors attempt again, to-morrow, to put off the trial to a fourth adjournment, I shall not think it unwarrantable to begin to suspect they fear to advance upon the ground they 've taken, lest the mines of Mexico, or of Tartarus, be sprung upon them. This suspicion seems to be somewhat countenanced by the circumstance of their being correctly informed of the places where General Dayton has been for several days, and will continue, near this town, without the Marshal, who is certainly a vicious partisan, having yet made any attempt to disturb him; while the once redoubted Eaton * has dwindled down in the eyes of this sarcastic town, into a ridiculous mountebank, strutting about the streets,

* American Consul at Tunis.

under a tremendous hat, with a Turkish sash over colored clothes, when he is not tippling in the taverns, where he offers up with his libations the bitter effusions of his sorrows, in audibly bewailing to the sympathies of the bystanders—"that he is despised by the Federalists, mistrusted by the Democrats, and *heu!* too long for his fame, "too long for his purse," "*Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis.*"

General Dayton, however, I hear, will offer himself up to-morrow, or the next day, and will therefore live rent-free like myself, for some time; but how far reasons of *State* may prevent my partaking of his society here, I can not yet tell. It is now 11 o'clock, P. M. I will walk about for some time with a fan, and then endeavor to sleep, to preserve my strength and appetite.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10, 1807.

Rose at 6, A. M., dressed, and walked until 8. Had a call from Col. Q——r, a violent Democrat, who calls every one "Tory" that is not of his own party, and talked a great deal about ruining England in the expected war with the United States. D. Woodbridge stepped in while I was at breakfast, and returned me in frames the two drawings presented me by Miss Vanpool at C——, Col. Meade's place, near Lexington, the day I left that town under guard for this city. After Q——r took leave, D. Woodbridge informed me, he was told some time since by Col. Morgan, a subpœna had actually been dispatched, a fortnight past, to Natchez for my wife, and he heard somebody say last evening, General Wilkinson had asserted the same thing. I immediately addressed a letter to

Messrs. Randolph, Wickham and Botts, stating this intelligence, and appealing to their feelings to vindicate, from this outrage of party, the rights of a wife and the fundamental principles of law and justice. Mr. Mercer called in as I was folding up the letter, and kindly took upon himself the charge of delivering it for me, as well as of inquiring at the Post-office for any letters he could bring me from thence.

I had but half finished the last sentence but one, when I heard the voices of strangers coming up stairs, and Mr. Douglas entered my room with one of the Deputy Marshals, to invite me to take an airing, that is, to attend the court. I was ready in three minutes, and on reaching the outside gate, perceived a carriage and two horseguards in waiting. I stepped in, found the air and exercise very agreeable; was told by the way, I should have the trouble to pass through a large crowd, to which I answered, "I was indifferent," and soon arrived at the capitol, where, without doors, I did not perceive near as many people as I expected; within, the court is held in the Hall of the Assembly, which is spacious and handsome, and was pretty full at my entrance. I was first led by the Deputy Marshal below the *bar;* soon after, somebody else invited me to walk within it, pointing to a bench; and again, I was directed to walk to the opposite side, directly in front of the Chief Justice's seat, where I sat down near a table at which Col. Burr's counsel sit. The court was not yet opened; I was soon accosted, successively, by Messrs. Randolph, Wickham and Botts, who all inquired, what occasioned my appearance in court; I said I was ignorant, but supposed for arraignment. The

counsel did not know I had been furnished three days ago with a copy of the indictment; but I told them I had not yet received a list of the witnesses that might be called to testify against me, which I submitted to them, whether I was entitled to before arraignment. I then entered into a conversation, upon a hint from him in French, with Mr. Wickham, who, upon a first address to a stranger, possessed a talent of infusing into his manner an air of ease and friendly interest, that is truly adapted at once to engage the hearts of his acquaintance. Some considerable time after the court opened, it was engaged in a desultory way, with applications from jurors to be excused from serving on the trial of A. Burr, on various grounds, and excused. During such occupation, Col. Burr entered; came over to that side where I was, shook me by the hand, and smilingly said, he was extremely glad to see me indeed. Observe, I had not before heard from him since Thursday. The prosecuting counsel seemed occupied with those of the defendant, A. Burr, in completing those lists of the witnesses, with the places of their abode, and agreeing upon some form of an acknowledgment to be made by A. B., that he had been duly served with the same, for which the court was patiently waiting, when Mr. Hay coolly observed, "that it might, in the mean time, be as well to arraign Mr. Blennerhassett;" to which Mr. Botts objected, for want of preparation by me and my counsel. Mr. Hay replied, that if it was not done to-day, a great deal of time would be lost. Mr. B. said he could not help it, it would be improper; on which Mr. Hay returned, "that I might then be remanded," which I soon after solicited, from the

warmth of the place and a wish to get back to my writing. I therefore left the court, having bowed to the bench, under charge of another Deputy Marshal, and another gentleman, with whom I returned hither on foot, much heated by the walk, about fifteen minutes past 2. Saw and saluted many faces on leaving the court; among them, Wm. Lewis, who appeared glad to see me, and inquired particularly for my family; also, David Wallace, who arrived yesterday. Dined with less appetite than I had yesterday; oppressed in the evening by the heat of the weather; tried to get cool, by walking and fanning, but was so weak I was obliged to lie down on the floor, where I slept, I know not how long, until I was awakened by the name of Mrs. Alston, at which I started up, as if electrified, and perceived a servant of hers with a large present of oranges, lemons and limes. Wrote her, in form of a card, three lines of devotion and gratitude, seizing the opportunity of inquiring after Alston, who is confined to the house, to pray her to let me hear again from her to-morrow. Drank tea as usual, at nightfall, and was soon after locked up. Through excessive heat, I have written the sixth folio of my brief, and will now try to sleep, it being 2 o'clock, the 11th.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1807.

Rose late. Saw Jourdan while at breakfast. He remained all day to copy my brief. Visited in the evening by Dav. and Robert Wallace, with P. Howe. Had a friendly, sympathizing letter from Mr. Wm. Thompson, a lawyer of handsome talents, though a violent Democrat, the brother of the author of the Letters of Curtius. I

got acquainted with him at Abington, on the road hither. I do not hear any more of Mrs. Alston's intention to attend the trial of her father. I hope neither will add this to the many indiscretions already committed by him. Jupiter might invisibly elude the guards of Danae, but the *bonne amie* of the Col. does not I suppose occasionally pass his keepers with the same address. *Proh pudor!* Worked to-day chiefly on my brief, of which I have to-night, past 12, entered on the eleventh folio.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1807.

Rose at 7, A. M. Was visited by Dav. Meade, who tells me himself and the guard that escorted me hither from Kentucky will be allowed only one-half of what they expected, namely, instead of 10, only 5 cents per mile for coming and returning; and he expects his bill against the United States will not be paid under two years after his having advanced his money for them: also, he understands the Marshal, Major Scott, will not pay Burr's witnesses, while he answers all the calls of those on the part of the prosecution. Does a culprit, then, with an empty purse, look in vain to the provisions of the Constitution, which declare "that the accused shall have compulsory process to enable him to enforce the attendance of his witnesses;" and may he be hanged for want of money, as well as of innocence? I fear the murmurs of agents and returning officers will be so widely diffused, that no one will undertake to serve subpœnas for me on witnesses, however material to my defense, while I will not lay out a dollar for promoting its success. A considerable fall of rain last night and this morning has very

agreeably lowered the temperature of the air, the high degree of which has, for a week past, been so very oppressive. I have had, by Mr. Meade, another advance from female humanity. Mrs. Chevalier, wife of the French Consul, has solicited by him my acceptance of any refreshments or delicacies she could send me. Read the three papers published here, of which the "Inquirer," incorrectly, and rather impertinently, notices the occasion of my counsel's declining to permit me to be arraigned last Monday. Was interrupted by idle visitors, desirous of gratifying their curiosity to survey my countenance and quarters. One of them, a rejected juryman from Wood county, of the name of Morrison, with whom I am not acquainted; the others, strangers to me, and came, like many others before them, without recommendation, to solicit employment of serving subpœnas on witnesses. Had a friendly visit in the evening from Mr. Fowler, in company with Jourdan, and procured, through a friend, copies of the depositions, before the grand jury, of Peter Taylor, Jacob Albright, and David Wallace. The first having sworn that I told him we would stab all those that went with us to get land, and would not go on our expedition; the second, that General Tupper arrested me on the "Island" the night I left it, from which I effected my escape by my friends directly presenting six guns at the General; and the third, that I offered him the post of Surgeon General, if he would embark in the expedition. "O God of Truth and Justice!" avenge such murderous villainies in mercy; and then, my beloved wife, behold and adore a guardian Providence, that ordains the conviction of perjury to issue in the same breath from

the lips of falsehood accusing the innocent. Mr. Fowler assures me Mr. Hay begins to feel sick of the business, and doubts not a *nolle prosequi* will be entered on the records, on Burr's acquittal of the treason.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1807.

Rose at half-past 6; walked, dressed and breakfasted. Had a friendly letter from Prichard, requesting me to command his heart and hand; also a long letter, sent by Phelps, but lastly from Col. Burr, from Tom Neale, confessing, at last, that 't was he bought Ransom, whom he will return to my wife or to myself at the same price he gave for him. Heard by letter from Col. Burr, in answer to one I wrote to him, covering another for him to forward, if he wished it, to Mr. Hendren, requesting him to come to town, to assist Burr with his knowledge of the jurymen. Heard that Alston is to-day confined to his bed. Visited by David Meade, with two gentlemen of his acquaintance, summoned as talesmen, or on another *venire pro defectum juratorum*, on the last. To one of these, finding he was acquainted with Will. Thompson, I was fortunate, in procuring an opportunity, connected with the subject of conversation, to show Mr. T.'s handsome letter to me. As this party were taking leave, Messrs. Wickham and Botts appeared at the door; they seemed pleased to find the *ennui* of my confinement relieved by company; sat half an hour, during which they told me, they understood the Hendersons would swear much against me, but seemed to think with me, their story could bear but little on either count of the indictment. They concurred in opinion, that I should

not hurry my trial, but should rather wait until party prejudice was more allayed, and the great crowd of witnesses now in town somewhat dispersed. They confirmed to me the fact of a subpœna having been actually issued for my wife, her name being one on the list of witnesses furnished to A. Burr. My complaints on this head they seemed to regard as irremediable, because A. Burr is not her husband. In how many instances is the letter of the law at war with common sense, and its own principles? Are not all accomplices principals in treason? are not Burr and myself charged by exactly similar indictments with the same overt acts, at the same place; and, consequently, can the same jury, if I should choose it, or any other in my case, shut their eyes to testimony upon which Burr may be by possibility convicted? I hinted these ideas to these generous and accomplished advocates; their silence seemed only to reply, *sed ita lex scripta est.* They, however, were of opinion that the helpless state of the children would justify her non-compliance with the summons. The moment they left me, therefore, I dispatched a few lines to her to that effect, which I hope were time enough at the office to go by this evening's mail. The slow march of the trial, I am told, has put Wilkinson out of all patience. He has been heard to swear in his wrath, that if Burr is not hanged, he cares not how soon himself were stretched on the same gallows. Mr. Botts said he saw the "Querist" at old Henderson's, and will advise my presence in court when the sons are produced to give their testimony. Progressed with my brief, of which I entered on the thirteenth folio, bringing the narrative of the case, so far as I hope I can

prove it, down to the period of my first interview with Graham, on Burr's affairs at Marietta, in last November. I learn or conclude by letters I have received, that old Richard Neale and James Wilson must be in town; I have as yet seen neither. Jourdan tells me, Burr lives in great style, and sees much company within his gratings, where it is as difficult to get an audience as if he really were an Emperor. If these things be so well founded, as is the hint in last Tuesday's notes, I fear Wm. Thompson is sketching his portraits of the characters connected with the trial too far West, not to lose some lines of certain features that would not escape his pencil if he were here.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1807.

Went down to the kitchen after breakfast, in this wing of the building, my servant having gone to town to beg of one of the cooks there to request a keeper to bring the barber to shave me. Cooks were preparing the dinner for the convicts now confined here, to the number of about 130. This meal, I learned, generally consisted of three-quarters of a pound of meat, one and a half pints of soup, and one pint of corn-meal dough, which suffers by baking a diminution of one quarter of the weight. The breakfast, the only other meal allowed in the twenty-four hours, consists of the like quantity of the same sort of bread, and half a gill of molasses, diluted with a pint of water. Not having before spoken of the police of this establishment, I will now mention what has fallen under my own observation regarding it. The convicts are confined, for various terms of years, according to their several

offenses, for which the heaviest sentence is, I believe, for the space of eighteen years. They are kept to labor in the respective trades or occupations they had been bred to, with no allowance of rest on any day, but Sunday, except during meals, being set to work at daylight, and leaving off at sunset. The present keeper is a smart, intelligent man, who tells me, before he came here, the value of the annual labor of the prisoners did not exceed $5,000; the expenses being nearly, as at present, $11,500. But he speaks confidently of raising the former, in his first year, to $14,500. I believe great diligence will be necessary in him to effect it. The men have not now, as under his predecessor, the benefit of any work they might try to do, over and above the limits of their task. Mr. Douglas assigns two curious reasons for discontinuing that little indulgence to these wretches; 1st, that it was found to occasion expense to the State, by encouraging some folks to commit and *confess* small offenses, in order to get boarded here *gratis* for six or twelve months, when they would be turned out, with a sum of money in their pockets, for their extra labor during their confinement, which they would soon renew in the same way; 2d, that those confined for a long term of years would probably soon debilitate themselves through this stimulus, to an increase of industry, by which their maintenance would become a dead charge, without any return to the State. The stimuli of Mr. D., therefore, or his superiors through him, are dark confinement in the cells, and the cow-skin, with short allowance of bread and water, which is not very well calculated, to prevent the last evil—the debility—now sought to be avoided. My unfortunate

barber, I hope, fell on a lucky day for *his* punishment, well or ill deserved, for I was soon told in the kitchen that he was in the cells; but expressing my concern for the poor fellow's misfortune, one of the cooks stepped out, I suppose, to signify to the proper authority the maturity of my beard, no doubt, rather than the expression of my sorrow; and, in ten minutes, Vaun was in my room with his whole apparatus. This Vaun, my friends, is only here for eighteen years, merely for cutting his wife's throat, with precisely the same sort of instrument with which he operates most delicately on mine, every other day. Nor do the largest cities I have ever lived in boast an artist, in his line, that should supplant him in my favor. The physiognomy of his countenance, and the steadiness of his hand, with the keenness of his instrument, admirably correspond with the firmness and sensibility of his heart—would to Heaven I could add, its purity. But hideous jealousy entered there, and goaded this wretch to murder and madness. A gentleman of Petersburg, who called in last evening with David Meade, assured me that Vaun, on the day he killed his wife, sat at his door for an hour or two, showing the bloody razor to the passengers in the street, and telling them how he had used it. The gentleman declared, had he been of the jury, he should not have concurred in the conviction. This convict is black, was born free, lived in good circumstances, has been to Europe, and always supported an excellent character. Poor Vaun! the gloom of thy soul is now as dark as thy countenance; but yet may one ray of Divine mercy enlighten it! Thou shalt still shave me.

Col. Burr wrote me to-day, that he was so surrounded

by company he could not make up his mind upon a communication I made him by letter, of which he said he perceived all the importance and advantages. I wrote to him to summon Henderson, the father, for reasons that will appear by my brief, urged the advantage that would result from my cross-examining all the witnesses that I knew, particularly the Hendersons, which may be produced against him, if in my present character I could be allowed to act, during his trial, as an agent or advocate for him; or if that should not be permitted, that I should at least be in court when such witnesses appear. I also submitted to him the expediency of one of our counsel seeing my brief, so far as I had written it. He added in his letter that one of them should call upon me for that purpose, and to confer on other matters this evening. But I have received no such visit, and must confess I am rather led to ascribe my disappointment less to the negligence of the advocate than to that of the client. The vivacity of his wit, and the exercise of his proper talents, now constantly solicited here in private and public exhibition, while they display his powers and address at the levee and the bar, must engross more of his time than he can spare for the demands of other gratifications. Man is prone to what St. Pierre aptly names the harmony of contrast, in which the mind and the eye are as much delighted in physics and in ethics as the ear is in music. My reflections will perhaps borrow from this principle hereafter, in attempting to do more justice, in expression of character, to a third portrait of an original, so differently appearing to my regards at Richmond and on the Mississippi. Was visited this morning by Belknap and

P——l; the latter, one of the most active in seizing the boats and provisions at Marietta, last December; also by D. Woodbridge, who read my brief, but to whom, as well as to every one else that calls upon me, I never speak on the subject of evidence yet, or hereafter to be, given by them on these trials. Had a very friendly letter from Col. Cushing, lamenting my situation, and assuring me of every exertion of his friendship to serve me; another, from Thos. Neale, exactly to the same effect as his last; also a very friendly one from Mr. John Banks, accompanying a present from Mrs. Banks, of two bottles of cordials, and a large cake. Visited by Alston, this being the first day he could venture out in a carriage. He says appearances every day strengthen the expectation of Burr's acquittal on both bills, Hay having been heard to say, out of *court*, he does not think he will be able to substantiate the charges. It is believed, however, a motion will be made to the Court, on the acquittals, but be rejected, to transmit us to other districts for trial, according as evidence may appear or be procured, as may be contended to implicate our conduct as treasonable elsewhere out of this district. Douglas has also heard Duane confess, that he, too, is fearful Burr must be acquitted. Had this evening an obliging visit, and one hour's interesting French conversation with Col. de Pestre, who informed me his brother-in-law, a promising young man of various merit, had been turned out of his place as Clerk in the War Office, because he could not accuse the Col. of Burr-ism; and afterward, some honorable friends of the Government had the delicacy to insinuate how handsomely the Col. might be provided for in the army,

if his principles or engagements were not adverse to the administration. The Col. replied, that he understood the hint, but it neither suited his honor nor character to serve in such employment. Wrote to Col. Cushing, requesting him to forward to me an inventory of all my effects that have been sold under attachments, and all my negroes, to my wife, or Col. Scott, or Mr. Harding, at Natchez, for her. Have not worked to-day on my brief, from a prospect held out by many of my discharge on Burr's acquittal. Chatted as usual in the evening with Douglas, and having left a letter I began to Miller, for to-morrow, continued this diary until midnight.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1807.

Half-past 8, P. M. Have not, during the forenoon, seen a face, but that of my servant Billy, who, by the comfort I derive from his remarkable neatness and assiduity, my wife will not think undeserving of mention in this diary, which I have resolved to keep only for her gratification. Every one is probably at court, where this is a day of some interest, as the jury will probably be impanneled. Have done nothing but walk, and read the papers, my face continuing very sore with a disagreeable eruption. Will now finish my letter, begun yesterday, to Miller, and conclude the notes of to-day after tea, by which time I may probably collect something worthy of notice from Jourdan, whom I hourly expect. While at dinner, Mr. Ellis called in to know if I could yet inform him when I might want him to serve subpœnas for me, otherwise he should soon leave town, seeing no prospects of getting any money from Col. Burr, against whom he has a de

mand of about eleven dollars, for a boat and cargo sold him in October last on the Ohio. B., it seems, has disposed of all such claims, by a declaration, it is said, he made in court, before my arrival, of his being a bankrupt. But in emptying his strong-box, which seems to have lost all his treasures as quickly as those that took wing from Pandora's, he has, I am told, like that goddess, closed the lid time enough to prevent the escape of that hope on which some favored dependents may yet mortgage to him their future services and the property of their children. It would even baffle the acuteness, and exhaust the deliberation, of our worthy Harding, to estimate the amount of this treasure, or conceive the structure of the debenture by which it is secured; I must therefore explain both. Know, then, that it has been whispered to me, with the important gravity so confidential a communication required, that the sum is $50,000; the security, a claim upon Government for the damages sustained by the culprit now trying for his life, but who will probably obtain his acquittal of the treason with more ease than he can procure one on another charge recorded against him in Kentucky, of having robbed the Western country of $100,000, to say nothing of the absurdity of suing the United States in the face of a positive statute. As I was closing my letter to Miller, Jourdan stepped in with Rob. Nicholas, a Democrat, furious, keen and selfish, in chase of Alston, to secure and hasten the payment of bills, protested and indorsed by me to Sanders, to amount, with charges, etc., of $10,000, for which I will never give more than my *bones*, and the holder believing me determined, now depends on Alston's

responsibility to me, which I have transferred to him. To-morrow, I shall be visited by Mr. Edmond Randolph, on the part of Sanders, and on my own business; I anticipate the conference with much interest. Jourdan is quite desolate and dispirited by the treatment of B., of which he will give me particulars to-morrow.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1807.

Rose late this morning, very ill, but satisfied I was affected by no influence of confinement, or the place; a severe headache, under which I 've all day labored, proceeding only from a derangement of the stomach, to which I am frequently subject. While at breakfast, I was visited by Mr. P., a merchant of consideration here, who had not before called upon me, for which he apologized, and in whom I admired here, in the spring of 1800, the most amiable manners, with a fine musical taste, and handsome execution on the violin, he and myself, during my stay, being the principal performers in the Harmonic Society. My worthy friend Prichard led the way, as much heated by the warmth of his friendship as of his two miles' walk, bringing with him also Wood, the late editor of the Atlantic World, a paper, which is now extinct, and may be truly said to have been the last faint effort, save these trials, of expiring Burr-ism under the relentless fury of Democracy. Wood is a singular looking man, with a countenance expressive of great oddity, if not of genius; of few words, with embarrassed manner, but said to be skilled in mathematics. His appearance altogether inspired some interest to know him better, and he will, by my desire, enable me to improve

our acquaintance. I was agreeably occupied with this party until General Tupper appeared; the news of his arrival in town, brought me yesterday evening by Jourdan, must have caused some little mental uneasiness last night and this morning, of which I was unable to render an account to myself. This intelligence could not reach my ears without arriving in the same instant at my heart, where it was at once amalgamated with all my hopes and anxiety for my family. With what rapidity did I calculate, over and over, and conclude that I must hear from Natchez by the General. I had written to my wife from the Chickasaw Nation, to direct to me under cover to the General. I hardly permitted myself to conclude an interchange of salutations with him when I eagerly inquired for a letter; he had none, and he left home as late as the 5th instant. But a few more mails from Lexington and Marietta, without the blessing of a letter, and I shall endeavor to prepare myself for more awful trials than the death-warrant of a wicked or a jealous Government. General Tupper's conversation, which lasted about one hour with me, was very interesting, both to my curiosity regarding the intelligence I could derive from him on my own account, and my admiration of that honorable independence he will yet make the Government feel more of, on his part, when they wish or desire, from the experience they have already had of his temper. It seems much of the artifice of intrigue, on the part of Government or their runners, has been put in requisition to endeavor to mold the General's disposition in the temper of the present prosecutions. He has next encountered attempts upon his honor indirectly, to induce him in some degree

to countenance the testimonies of Taylor and Albright to the facts of his having arrested me, with my rescue and escape from him, mentioned 12th instant; outrages upon his character and feelings, which he has repelled with that disgust and contempt suggested by his honor, but not without thereby incurring, what, until then, the conservators of Jeffersonian fame never thought of, insinuations of his concern, and threats to involve him in the pains and penalties of the conspiracy. Either before or after this analysis of the stuff, which would not take the dye, proposed, it was politely signified to him, that although he had been recognized as a witness, on the part of the United States, the prosecutors, in kind consideration of the inconvenience another journey might put him to, would dispense with his further attendance. He said, however, he would return were he obliged to travel on his hands and knees. He also tells me, Doctor W—— is alarmed at my presence here to confront him, when he shall dare to offer such testimony again as he has ventured before the grand jury, and is terrified, for he is no doctor, at the thoughts of being examined publicly by those who are of that profession, to prove he is not one. See my notes of 12th instant, and it will appear how properly I wanted to fill the place of Surgeon-General in the expedition; but General Tupper says, he knows a person to whom W. said I was *jesting* with him when I spoke of his going with me as Surgeon-General. I have not been gratified with the visit I expected to-day with so much interest from Mr. Randolph, but have had a long one from Alston, which was taken up chiefly with the subject of an arrangement of the demands of Sanders

and Miller; the agency of Nicholas has been so far effective as to induce Alston to offer to take a journey forthwith to South Carolina to try to raise the money, leaving Mrs. A. here until his return. He can not offer hopes of the success of this attempt, and no final adjustment, I believe, will be effected, but by the opinion and advice of Mr. Randolph. Mr. Craughton called this evening, after a severe walk of three miles, and remained about two hours.

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1807.

This is a black Monday indeed with me, whether the cloudiness of my mind or of the sky makes it appear such. I feel well to-day, and took breakfast with some appetite, during which Col. de Pestre entered, and kept up an interesting conversation with me until noon, which, from the complete coincidence of our opinions on certain characters, and the reflections arising from the notes we had to compare on our *past* interest, and connection with them, could not much tend to fortify me for encountering the new mortifications occasioned me by a letter I have just received from my estimable friend, Jos. S. Lewis, in his private capacity, informing me that the house of which he is the head, had, in consequence of attachments served on my funds, my last pecuniary resource of my poor family in their hands, been obliged to dishonor all the bills I had drawn, that were presented for acceptance since the 20th of last January, the day such attachments were served, at suit of the Kentucky Insurance Company and Lewis Sanders, of Lexington. What discredits and embarrassments the return of bills I have drawn at

Natchez, to amount of $700 or $800, will occasion my afflicted wife, I fear to estimate. Every day's trial seems to inflict a new wound upon my heart, or some part of it that has not bled for my wife and children; my own sufferings have long since destroyed the tone, and established the apathy, of every nerve that vibrated to the first impulses of the perfidy and injustice that, by their continued action, since the beginning of last October to the present hour, have relieved my mind from all care for the duration or issue of my confinement. I have just dispatched a letter to Alston, requesting to see him, and another to Prichard, desiring him to retain, or, if disposed of, to try and take up a small bill I drew on Philadelphia a few days since for $100. Joe Lewis tells me *he* will honor Harding's bills, drawn on *himself* for $500, in consideration of my wife's situation. O! my wife, we thought we were serving a P . . . . , and have been the dupes of an advocate. De Pestre has justly taken up the ideas suggested in my notes of last Friday. This generous *foreigner* has narrowed his means of maintaining a large family, besides some orphans, to the amount of $5,000, for which he has not been even thanked. I hear Alston's carriage, and must now close, but for what purpose? to hear a repetition of the same professions of concern already made me, to which is added, however, an offer to go to Carolina, in two or three days, to try to raise *some* money, the success of which, however, I must understand, is very problematical. What could I reply to the professions of one of the richest men in the Union, offering to assume these demands, ready to sell or mortgage, but yet unable to get the money I never used a cent of, but for which the cries

of rapacious creditors rend the walls of my prison—ah! that would be indifferent to me, did I not fear they are loud enough to reach and swell that heart that will echo them back to mine. For what purpose could I desire to see him again on this business, but to make the last sacrifice I had to offer; alas! I once thought it impossible; I blush to name it, to humble the pride of integrity before that of wealth—to solicit his charity. I have thus sought relief through the storm by every effort of skill or diligence I could make, until, wearied and exhausted, I have set down in the humility of my heart, to drift perhaps to that shore where the mercy of Heaven will recompense me, in the participation of the rewards prepared for the fortitude and virtues of a wife I have been so long blessed with. It is a relief to my heart to fill a whole page with a single sentence. The flood of my sorrows is too copious to suffer the artificial breaks and pauses of critical rules. My wife will feel this, if no one else can. I wrote a very long letter to Joe Lewis, which I immediately began when Alston left me, to acquaint him that bills with my indorsements, on account of which one of the attachments had been served on his house, as my garnishee had long since been paid by Alston's agent, Mr. Sam. Allen, of Philadelphia; that I had, in addition to the arrangement I made with Sanders at Lexington, Kentucky, a prospect of making further arrangements here, through Alston, with Rob. Nicholas, the agent, and Mr. Edmond Randolph, the lawyer of Mr. Sanders, by which I should, I expected in a few days, have the attachment at suit of Sanders taken off, and in the mean time, until I could see Mr. Randolph, which I could not do

to-day before the mail closed, I hoped Mr. L. would believe his house would not be proceeded against as my garnishee, and whatever obstruction to their currency the little resources I yet possessed through his house in Philadelphia were incumbered with, would be removed. I have, to-night, also written to Mr. Randolph, to request him to call upon me to-morrow, before court opens. Speaking to-day, while Alston was here, before Col. McKee, of what was doing in court, whither I wrote to Alston to come to me, A. said, they left Hay stating the case, on the part of the prosecution, damned the speaker, and declared he would whip a son of his, were he only twelve years old, that could not make a better. This led me to praise a pamphlet, entitled "Agrestis," which Alston yesterday brought me, being two letters on Wilkinson's proceedings at New Orleans, which for its arrangement and strength, as well as for some imagery of the language, I observed, would not be unworthy of a Curran, at the same time inquiring who was the author. A. said that was not known. I then repeated the question to Col. McKee, who said it was a friend of ours; at least Mr. A. was suspected. I mention this trifling occurrence for the sake of observing that Alston was now silent, thereby appropriating to himself the merit of the book, which his wife, I have no doubt, might produce; for by the title-page of the second edition printed here, it appears the former, or first edition, was published in South Carolina, or else it has proceeded from some other genius of much mind and erudition; but to suppose Alston the author would be preposterous; obscurity may consistently veil the parentage of Hercules, but it would

be ridiculous to suppose him the offspring of a dwarf. Take this trait and test it by the fact. There is a provincial phrase or two in the pamphlet which I will keep, that proves it first saw the light at New Orleans.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1807.

It may easily be conceived how difficult it must be for one in the state of mind in which I closed my notes of the heavy hours of yesterday, to fall into that oblivious repose, through sleep, which easily ensues upon the cessation of ordinary labor of body or mind, and enables us, by recreation, to perform the task of misfortune allotted for the morrow. Accordingly, I did not find my bed what it always proves to the peasant or the mariner, the grave of care. The tumult of my mind had so inflamed my body, that irritation on the surface could not be allayed, while trouble reveled within. I was restless, for I was sick at heart, and slept not soundly until toward morning. Yet I rose betimes, and had an early visit from Mr. Randolph, who called upon me, in pursuance of my request to him by letter of last night. I stated to him my embarrassment, by Mr. Sanders attaching the only remaining funds that were tangible, and insufficient for the support of my family; observing, that if Mr. S. did not withdraw the attachment, which I hoped Mr. Randolph would forthwith, as S.'s lawyer, persuade his agent, Mr. Nicholas, to do, I should consider my arrangements at Lexington with Mr. S., to secure and settle his demands through Mr. Alston, as abrogated. This seemed to engage his reflections; but I was sorry soon to find he had the indelicacy, not only to inquire what was the

amount of my funds in the hands of Messrs. Jos. S. Lewis and Co., but even to tell me that if a sum of $1,000, or even $500, could be got immediately for Nicholas and Sanders, who, he knew, wanted money, such an expedient, he rather believed, would tend to give effect to *some* arrangement into which Mr. Alston might be induced to enter; adding, as he was taking leave, "that I knew how much a little ready cash helped these sort of things forward." I had before observed to Mr. R. that he must know now, from the nature of my financial embarrassments, detailed to him in these transactions, how little I could presume on counsel I could not remunerate, Before he left me, he said, Burr has an excellent jury, on the whole, with the exception of Parker alone, who, he acknowledged, is a worthy, honorable man, but a violent Jeffersonian partisan. I expressed my surprise at Burr's accepting him, after he had avowed in court as strong prejudices as some who had been rejected. This indiscretion on Burr's part he censured. He then told me Hay was very weak yesterday in stating the case, and he had no doubt of an acquittal; but to save time and labor, he very much wished the Chief Justice should concur in opinion with the counsel on the defense, who yesterday contended, in a lengthy argument with their opponents, that no evidence of intentions should be gone into until overt acts had been first proven. How the court have decided I shall know in the morning. I now soon dispatched a note to Alston, and fortunately continued reading Agrestis until I heard his carriage-wheels, which seemed to rattle in my ears; "read on" until after he had entered the room; i. e., a thought struck me that possi-

bly he might have had something to do in the composition, and I might do more with him, through his vanity of authorship, than I had yet been able to effect through any other channel. Admirable! cried I, before I answered his salute; he smiled—"what!" said he, "Agrestis, are you pleased with that little thing? Well, I did not care to notice it yesterday; but I will now tell you in confidence, 't was I wrote it." I then pointed out to him an image or two, particularly one in the first letter, of Justice, surrounded by the laws, in the sanctuary of her temple, poising in their presence the balance with her own hand, which, I said, would be a fine subject for the *relief, alto relievo;* while the stations of her executive officers, assigned them without the sanctuary, might beautifully form the *intaglio*, or back-ground, of a good piece of sculpture. Here I threw down the book, which he as readily took up, to descant on other merits it possessed, or point out errors of the press; all of which engaged my most profound attention. The organ now wound up; I lost no time to try upon it the tune my heart first called for; how do you think it went? To admiration! the instrument was now so much improved; the piece, so often tried on it before, was now not only performed in half the time it used to be, but was worth double the money it would bring yesterday. In plain English, instead of paying one-half the money next January twelve months, and the other half the January following, according to his utmost powers, to-day he was tuned up to the incredible power of paying the whole, not indeed today, but next April twelve months. Who knows yet but a judicious combination of discords to be selected from

the letter to Pinkney, with some more of the melody of Agrestis, might produce a harmony which, if it can not move the *oaks*, may still solicit the responsive *cadence* of the dollars? He left me with animated assurances of seeing Nicholas to-day, and myself again upon the business, not, however, without some pretty simpers about Mr. Randolph's hint of the $500, which he regarded as soliciting a *douceur* for Nicholas; but even that, he hinted, in the suavity of his self-complacency, would not be impossible, when I assured him it should go in part of the demand. I have had two or three reasons to-day of lightening my heart of the load that oppressed it yesterday. After Mr. Randolph left me, I walked about, invoking the saving providence of Heaven over my wife and children; secondly, better prospects opened to me, from my interview with Alston; and, thirdly, the sincere pleasure I felt in writing to another Eugenius, as dear to me as the first was to Yorick, to communicate to Harding a transcript of my notes of yesterday, and a short letter of to-day, to enable him to observe the better under what part of the tottering fabric of my affairs he may set the firm prop of his care and friendship for my family—a service in which, I feel, he will not dally. The regards of my wife may one day give him a perusal of these notes, as a supplement to his comments on "Agrestis," which I have also sent him. I feel no *tedium loci*, and have no want but that of letters. Cock-crow announces the morn. Grant, O God! it brings health to my family!

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1807.

Saw Dud. Woodbridge, before breakfast, who told me

Eaton, Truxton, Taylor, and Albright were yesterday examined on the trial. This intelligence has fretted me, because I find Burr disregards the caution I gave him, to have me present during the examination of the witnesses I knew, as they should be produced against him. I have heard he alters the notes of his counsel, increased yesterday by the addition of Mr. Lee, and for the most part marks out the course they pursue on his defense. I hope his negligence of the suggestions I have made to him will not furnish more cause of repentance than he is already burdened with. Hay, having again called for my arraignment, and Mr. Botts having, I am told, said he would try to be ready by Saturday, I must again revert to my labors on my brief, which I shall resume this evening. The Chief Justice has, I think properly, allowed the prosecutors to follow their own course in adducing their evidence, provided they offer none of any other treason than what is laid in the indict. It will appear, from a correct report of the trial, how far Hay contends that the doctrine of constructive treason is law in this country. How candid he is; and what a virulent disposition McRae manifests to insinuate bias in the court toward the accused. Mr. John Banks brought me, this morning, a paper containing Bollman's long letter to Duane, respecting B.'s communication to the President, which, if not quite a justification of the writer, settles however, forever, the honor and good faith of Jefferson. I have not seen Alston, according to my expectation and his promise;—the general interest and curiosity engaged at the capitol must suspend all other concerns. This evening General Tupper tells me that Hay boasts of hav-

ing a number of witnesses to establish the credit of Albright. Eternal Justice, then, support my innocence of the facts he has ventured to swear against me, until I shall appear before thy tribunal, where the vicious shall only testify to their own crimes. General Tupper has also a suspicion that Meiggs may venture to injure his credit as a witness; but the slightest attempt of that sort shall exhibit Meiggs branded in the next papers as a liar and a coward. Eaton's manner and delivery in giving his evidence is highly extolled in the two Democratic papers, the Argus and Inquirer; but I am better informed he strutted more in buskin than usual on that occasion, and the effect was as diverting to the whole court as it probably was beneficial to the defense. Still, Douglas, who is pretty regular in his evening visits to me, or to my grog and cigars, tells me Burr is as cheerful as ever, though he can not feel insensible to the advantage the prosecutors have taken, in framing the indictment in a manner to correspond in its form with the substance of the opinion given by Chief Justice Marshall, in the cases of Bollman and Swartwout, and the industry they practice to train and back their witnesses to support it. But as a jockey might restore his fame in the course, after he had injured it on the tight-rope, so perhaps the little "Emperor," at Cole's Creek, may be forgotten in the Attorney at Richmond. I have been weak all day, and again put off briefing until to-morrow. 11 P. M.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1807.

I had Mr. Douglas called to me, to request him to treat me to a walk in the yard this morning before breakfast.

My visitors, in the course of the day, generally complain of the closeness of my apartment, and some tell me they choose to reside in certain quarters of the town for the sake of high elevation and more air; others, that they prefer country quarters near town, for similar reasons, and wishing me soon to partake of like advantages. My walk for half an hour in the yard this morning, being the second time I have been from under the roof of this building, save the day I was taken to court, 10th instant, was very agreeable, notwithstanding its narrow limits, both of time and space, and the high walls and buildings, in defiance of all which my lungs seemed to me to quaff their aerial draughts with a spring and vigor I have seldom felt before. I have procured materials from the druggist for making some *oxygenized muriatic acid gas*, with which I will, perhaps to-morrow, destroy the noisome miasma that infests the air of these rooms. Continued my labors on my brief, of which I completed the seventeenth folio by dinner time, when, who will believe it! I was visited in the most *friendly* manner by David W——e. It is inconceivable how he will profit by the hints he has had from General Tupper, or if called upon again, which he seems to dread, how he will travel out of his deposition before the grand jury. I received him with the courtesy of a *prisoner*, now in his own quarters. He sat a little, and then took leave, confused. I was not afterward left fifteen minutes alone, before every muscle of my face was relaxed from the rigor in which W. had bound them, to wanton in the liveliest welcome of Little Gates, who hurried to take my hand with an ardor and frankness that testified the sincere interest he felt in see-

ing me well. He had been in town since Sunday, but his duties of attending to the chance of his being called as a witness in court, and the irresistible interest excited there since his arrival, prevented his calling on me sooner. He staid better than an hour, during which his conversation was full of interest and entertainment, from certain communications he made me, of men and things, of which I shall make use in my brief, as well as from two or three anecdotes and stories he told me of some military characters, and their achievements at Marietta, on the night the boats were seized there, of all which he acquitted himself with great humor and spirit. I shall expect the fulfillment of his promise to visit me often, with as much interest as I felt this evening. Visited by a sensible, genteel man, with a hard Dutch name, which I forget, having lost his ticket. He reminded me of having seen me, seven years ago, in this town, and invited me to his house, when I recover my liberty. My last visitor was Stokely, who declared, had he been in Wood county at the time of the troubles, by which my family and property so much suffered, he would have exerted whatever influence he had to prevent them. He said he was very sorry to observe the counsel on both sides agreeing in one thing at least, that is, to keep me so constantly as they do in the front of the fight. He could not understand the policy of A. Burr's counsel, contending that their client is not answerable for any acts of mine, and affected to lament deeply his fears, that, in addition to all I had already suffered, I should end at last by falling a victim between the cunning of Burr, on the one side, and the fury and prejudice of the prosecutors on the other. I thanked

him, and said, I had thoughts of summoning him as a witness for certain purposes that might be connected with my defense, hoping, if I should do so, he would excuse the trouble of the journey; to which he assented, with expressing great desire to see me again settled in the "White House on the Island." But how much sooner should I suspect treachery in this man twelve months past, than in others who have since been seeking my ruin. Old Neale will not come to see me, partly from scruples as to the obligations of duty, being summoned on part of prosecution, and the aversion he would feel to see me in this place. Hay having yesterday stated he would rest the evidence, as to the overt acts, Wickham has to-day spoken very ably for four hours, chiefly to contend, that, the acts not having been proved, no evidence should be offered of the intentions, or that if the acts have been proved, Burr, as an accessary at a distance from the scene of action, can not be proceeded against, until I, as a principal, shall be convicted. If I have been correctly informed, the ground has been judiciously taken, and will no doubt be ably maintained by Mr. Wickham, and the host that will follow him. I can not expect, at such a crisis, Alston will give a thought to any thing out of court. I should have added, when speaking of Stokely, that I learned from him that James Wilson has lost his wife, and left Wood county for another residence. How has he left my business? and what has he done with the valuable papers I intrusted to his charge? My children, will your unhappy father yet have days and health sufficient to gather together the little fragments of your property, so widely scattered over the face of the earth? If

he but live to finish that task, he will then be ready to take the last journey for his wages. My wife will, if I can not, seek the obligations of Dud. Woodbridge, sen., and others, from J. Wilson, before she spares a sigh to time.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1807.

D. Woodbridge called and sat with me this morning longer than he has done altogether since I have been here. He has got over the care of his examination, which worried him yesterday in court nearly two hours, and was, I understand, rather a disservice to the interests of the prosecution than otherwise. No witnesses are yet discharged, and all are as uncertain how long they will be detained as ever, unless there be grounds for an opinion Mr. Botts has given to Duane, that the trial will be over by Wednesday or Thursday. Mr. B. must think Hay, who, I hear, has demanded time to examine authorities cited on the other side in support of Wickham's motion, will not succeed in opposing it. It appears my name is as often made use of in court, during my absence, as it will be again on my own trial, when some curious contrarieties of facts and testimonies may come out, if I ever shall be tried. D. Woodbridge, from looking over that part of my brief narrating the conduct of the Hendersons, in betraying my confidence to Graham, etc., was led to acquaint me with a fact I was not a little mortified to learn, viz., that Botts is married to a sister of Mrs. Sandy Henderson. Must I, then, withhold to defend myself against the most serious witnesses against me, though my generous benefactor and enlightened patron, engaged to protect my life and character against the deadly assaults

of his own relatives, with no other recompense than the pride of interposing the barrier of his talents between a distressed family and its menaced ruin, be averse to listen to a statement he would still less choose to advocate of his connections? Had I been apprised of this difficulty in my first interview with Mr. B., I know not how he could have relieved me from it. I must see him on the subject before I send him a brief. Strange, that every embarrassment I labor under, great or small, is derived from the same source. Dudley tells me my wife's favorite horse, Robin, was stolen, with other things, by one Welch, who has not since been heard of; that J——s, the honest, returned him the $40, and that M——, the zealous, kept the other $20. Falsehood! thy name is Man—not Woman. Willey visited me to-day, and was truly glad to see me again. I made him give me a detail of all his adventures from leaving the boats. He had traveled, in his story, as far as Fort St. Stephen's, on the Tombigbee river, where he was arrested, after having lost one of his horses, and lived with the mulatto boy Harry for six days on damaged corn. Having missed his way, he had not seen Col. Burr from the time he left Judge B——'s till he found him at Washington City.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1807.

While at breakfast, little Luckett stepped in. He produced to me, I hope, the last bill, with my indorsement, drawn by Burr; I had no note or recollection of it. It was drawn on the same baseless authority as the rest, for $2,500, and had, of course, suffered a like fate; yet Luckett had not attempted any proceedings against me,

though he showed me an account stating a balance against Burr of upward of $8,000, by which, and losses he has sustained, he says, he has been quite ruined. He intreated my best interests with Alston, and never expects any thing from me. I hope soon to be able to state the details of a final arrangement with Burr and Alston, to extricate me from all these embarrassments. Having learned from Luckett, I was to be taken to court to-day, at noon, to be arraigned, I was in the act of dressing when two Deputy Marshals called upon me, half an hour earlier than was necessary, excusing themselves by saying my watch was so much too slow, though it was exactly with the town clock. The distance from hence to the capitol being nearly a mile, and as I have not been well, I had sent my servant to town to procure me a horse, but as he had not yet returned, I asked these gentlemen if they had brought a carriage, as had been done the last day I was taken to court, telling them my reasons for not wishing to walk. They answered, "the law did not make any such provisions, and the walk would serve me." So I soon attended them, though not in the style that was provided the 10th instant. My two attendants on foot, to-day, were unarmed, both going and returning. I had time enough before court opened to prepare for my counsel a list of thirty-nine witnesses I should have time allowed me to get here before I could be ready to go to trial. Of these, I informed Mr. Botts, twelve I deemed material to disprove all evidence that did, or might yet attempt to, prove my having committed any overt act; the rest to prove I had in nothing manifested a traitorous design, and of the number I wanted *subpœnas duces tecum*,

for five or six, to procure the production of various documents that might be necessary to my defense. My other witnesses are summoned on either side, in the present trial; so that the original list I took with me to court to-day contains no less than fifty-five. Mr. B. then stated, that as a long list of witnesses I had furnished him lived as distant from hence as Natchez, it seemed best to postpone my arraignment until the opinion of the court should be known on the several points made on the part of A. Burr, which would equally affect my case and his, when, if necessary, I should be prepared to state at what time I could expect the forthcoming of my witnesses, so that I might be arraigned by Wednesday. To this, Hay agreed; the court, which sat to-day only on my account, was adjourned, and I returned to this prison as I left it, that is, unarraigned. I hear Bollman is with Burr constantly, and no doubt busy. If it does not appear that Burr can boast as Chas. Fox did, *amicitiæ sempiternæ*, yet may he say *inimicitiæ placabilis*. Alston's prose, and Bollman's talents for intrigue, are recommendations or anodynes to a mind that finds no difficulty in obliterating the impressions of sensations heretofore received from either by the letter to Pinkney, which is before the public, or the *process-verbal* of the interview with Jefferson, which is not yet given to the world in detail. Enough has already appeared in these notes to warrant my suspicions as to Alston; and, in addition to the hint given, to-day and 19th instant, of my opinion on Bollman's manœuvre with Jefferson, I am the more confirmed in a disposition to mistrust both the motive and the matter of the interview, as well as his letter to Duane, because, as yet, he

has not had the curiosity to see me; neither a community of interest nor suffering has affected him. He has had no other motive probably to suggest to him a wish for my acquaintance, for he has possibly never heard from *authority* that I had been offered to choose him or Shaw for my private *secretary*, when I should name a diplomatic appointment for myself. This would have been a useless and dangerous humiliation of Mr. B.'s pride, which, no doubt, his master has long since found more accommodating to his views than mine. My visitors, this evening, were General Tupper, D. Woodbridge, Belknap, Wood and Doctor Bennett. The last, who has been brought here to support P. Taylor's evidence, of my having written to him a treasonable letter, by Taylor, is friendly, and can swear that I wrote nothing to him of a traitorous nature, though Taylor told him the letter was of that sort when he gave it to him. The doctor says, he supposed I wanted the arms I wrote to him to endeavor to borrow for me, ten or twenty guns, to defend my family and property against illegal outrage he knew I apprehended at that time from the Wood county volunteers, in the same sense in which, in my brief, I have stated this part of my case to counsel. General Tupper read over a most humorous lampoon on most of the military characters engaged in the heroic feats of arms they performed on the night of the 10th of December last at Marietta, of which, I hope, I shall obtain a copy to relieve the *ennui* of these notes. I find it very agreeable this evening to get upon a chair, by which I am enabled to raise my mouth to the lower tier of openings in the grating of the windows and breathe another air for half an hour.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 23, 1807.

If Alston could not make the same excuse for not calling on me yesterday that he might have offered some days back, still less could he do so to-day, when I suspect he has been sent to me. Luckett, this morning, told me it was Col. Burr's wish that I should write to Alston, to do the best he could for him, about the dishonored bill L. holds with my indorsement. Suspecting the correctness of this statement, I replied, "that Col. Burr was a ready penman, and in the habit of writing to me on matters of business; that L., therefore, must endeavor to get him to specify, under his hand, how it was necessary Mr. Alston should learn his wishes from me while they saw each other every day; my *own* wishes for the relief of L. I had no objection to signify to Mr. Alston in my own way." Luckett posted off, and has procured by his importunities, not a letter from Burr, who never puts pen to paper but under the influence of necessity, though he is, perhaps, the most constant writer in America, but a visit from Alston. When he came in, I inquired, "what were Col. Burr's expectations of the fate of the motions now before the court?" He said, "they, or some of them, would prevail, and the trial would be over by Wednesday or Thursday; that he and Mrs. Alston would very soon leave town, and that Col. Burr, on his discharge, would immediately occupy himself with the business of forming a land company, and settling the Washita lands." Perceiving he had an interest in thus abruptly informing me of this project, I encouraged him to dwell upon it, when I found that, though he had been conversing with

Burr on the subject, he wished me to inform him whether Burr had ever *seen* the lands. I told him I was not certain, but believed not, adding, that Tyler and Smith, who had once been very intent on settling there, had long ago abandoned the scheme, believing, from information they had procured, and could rely upon, Lynch's title was bad, and they were accordingly busily preparing to settle in the Attakapas country, very distant from the Washita lands, which were condemned by very good judges I named to him, who had visited them. Alston seemed surprised at this intelligence, and said the commissioners had confirmed Lynch's title. I told him I doubted that, but it was immaterial, as Lynch had long ago been a bankrupt, so that I had not much thought of accepting or purchasing 10,000 acres of those lands which Col. Burr had offered me. I should not be surprised to learn very soon that Burr has been promising to replenish Alston's coffers, which he will empty of $50,000 at least, from his Eldorado on the Washita. I well know B.'s address, in preventing or evading the simple questions he does not like to answer. I have seen Alston often yield to it, and wonder not that he shall seek from me that information of which he found Burr so tenacious. This, then, may turn out another instance, in addition to many others I have furnished, in which B. may see cause to deprecate my knowledge of him, and curse that candor of integrity that has so often traversed his purposes. Bollman's cautious skill, perhaps, will never betray him into similar *indiscretions;* but Major Smith will be here to-morrow, and then bursts the bubble. After I had next given Alston some account, by his desire, of the country

about Natchez, in which I also took liberty to correct many errors in Col. Burr's view of that subject, I contrived to let him broach the business he came on. He asked me if I had seen Nicholas to-day. I said no; but Luckett had been here with another of my indorsements, and an account he showed me, with a balance struck against Col. Burr, of something better than $8,000; thus, said I, almost every week I discover some new demand upon me on account of this business; and I have now ascertained that, besides other losses, my name has me responsible for $21,000. Well! says he, it will cost me at least $50,000. I mentioned the bill and balance together, to try if he would offer any objections to responsibilities I had entered into exceeding the amount of his guarantee to me, but finding he did not, I then told him the amount of the bill was only $2,500. With the account between Col. Burr and Luckett I had no concern, and recommended the latter to such present relief as he could afford him. He seemed pleased; said Nicholas would probably accept his terms; should remove the incumbrances on my property in Philadelphia, and invited me to Carolina, and promised soon to see me again. Then, returning to the subject of the trial, he told me a piece of news, which well deserves a place here—as so much secret history, characteristic of the feelings and energies of the Chief Justice. It seems, after the Judge had determined to give the prosecutors time, from Friday until Monday, to prepare to answer the arguments of the opposite counsel on four points, any one of which being supported by the court, the trial ends. A friend of General Marshall asked him if, in suspending a criminal prosecution by granting

this indulgence, he had not made a rule that had no precedent. To this he answered, "he knew it;" but if he should decide *against* the prosecutors on any of these points, he would be reproached with not being *disposed* to give them an opportunity to answer them; and that he will probably not overrule them at all is more probable from an expression of his, while playing at chess with Wickham, since the latter made the points. "Do n't you think," said he, "you will be able to check-mate these fellows, and relieve us from being kept here three weeks more?" In the evening Gates called, and soon left me, to give way to Wickham and Botts. This visit provided for a wish I yesterday expressed, in court, to Mr. B., to see him in the course of this day, my object being to state to him candidly the objections I had lately discovered to his appearing as an advocate for me in my defense, which might expose the breach of honor and confidence I complained of, on the part of his connections. But as he brought Mr. Wickham with him, and it seemed their joint opinion that the decision on the points now before the court would probably this week put an end to Burr's trial, and occasion the relinquishment of mine, or, if that did not happen, they had determined upon a plea in abatement, for a misnomer to the indictment in my case, which they thought must prevail, and then the prosecutors would probably despair of success in getting another grand jury to find another bill against me; or, if they should make such an experiment, I should most probably, in the mean time, be admitted to bail. From this view of their opinions, I said I hoped it would not be necessary to trouble them with my brief, and I could not

venture the appeal to Mr. Botts's feelings, which I proposed to make in this interview. My accomplished friends now terminated their visit with their accustomed kindness, and left me in a sublime reverie on their virtues and talents, which was soon broken in upon, by the appearance of Mr. Douglas with a stranger; I should rather have said, by two apparitions, for it was now near nightfall, and Douglas no sooner appeared than he turned on his heel, saying, "Colonel Duane, sir," and ran down stairs. The surprise of this interruption the stranger, whom I had never before seen, did not suffer to endure long enough to allow me to invoke the angels and ministers of grace for my protection. I was already within the grasp of this Gabriel of the Government. He seized my hand, and bade me dismiss my surprise, however natural it might be on his appearance before me. I handed him a chair, and said, "I had lived long enough in this country to be surprised at nothing it could produce or exhibit, but yet desired to learn from what cause I had the favor of this visit." "Having heard Mr. Douglas observe," said he, "you would be pleased to see me." "Sir, Mr. D. has made a mistake; he must have meant somebody else." "No matter," continued he; "having seen and known your present situation, I could not as a man, and an Irishman"—here he digressed, to show how he both was, and was not, an Irishman—"I would not leave this town without warning you of the sacrifice now preparing to appease the Government by your *friends*, of which you are destined to be the victim. You can not desire any other key to my meaning than the course the defense has this week taken; but if you think the Gov-

ernment will not cease to pursue that justice they possess the *means* of insuring, and suspect, as you ought, the designs of those you have too long thought your friends, it might yet appear no better, on my part, than a nominal service to give you these cautions. I have therefore sought you, not to tender you words, but deeds; the only return, on your part, will be that care of yourself which will find a shield in my honor"—here he very awkwardly struck his breast, and grinned a ghastly smile—"and that confidence I can command in the Government, whose good faith is not misplaced in the zeal I have testified to serve it." To this harangue, delivered somewhat less, perhaps, with the action and manner of Satan personating Duane than that of a felon, he added violent protestations of his wishes to serve me, saying that for that purpose he would put off his journey back to Philadelphia, which otherwise was irrevocably fixed for Wednesday, and would now, or at any time hereafter, go to Washington for me, where nothing he should ask would be refused him. In thanking him for the frankness and zeal with which he cautioned me against my friends, and a negligence of my safety, I assured him I was not afraid to meet the prosecution, as I expected I should, before my arrival here, without counsel or friends; but from present appearances I was more curious than interested to learn what were those means he said Government possessed of insuring justice? Finding by his answer he was now disposed to allure me into a confession of having written certain papers in the hands of the prosecutors, I told him, "the warmth of his offers

to serve me could not make me forget either his situation or my own, with relation to the Government; that I cared not what writings should be charged upon me, I should admit none until fairly proved, which, if any *such* should ever appear, I would justify, if necessary, on the scaffold. He now summed up the objects of his mission, whatever produced it, with abuse of Burr, Tyler and Smith, acknowledging that he had been served gratis by the first, in the most handsome manner; that the others were more concerned against the Government than I was; but swearing that he believed, if I did not follow his advice, they would make a scapegoat sacrifice of me for their deliverance. Can I make no use, then, of this adventure? yes, I will put this interest in requisition, if I can't find readier means to abbreviate the imprisonment of Vaun. I have again laid by my brief, which I shall not probably soon resume until all my expectations of Burr's success and my own are reversed. In the mean time, I will attend to the adjustment of my private affairs. Ellis called in to-day, and seemed pleased with having it in his power to offer to spare some money to me, if I wanted it. I was very glad, I said, to find Col. Burr was in cash. "Not at all," said he; "I was with the Marshal, and pretended a subpœna had been served on me at Natchez, and got 140 odd dollars. This was all Col. Burr could *yet* do for me." This is caution, with a vengeance. The Marshal's runners have these two nights past been in busy search of General Dayton. If he is taken this *way*, how will he appear to the multitude?

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1807.

Between 8 or 9, A. M., arrived Major Smith in this place. He has got the room under me to sleep in, and no reasons of state or measures of public safety appear at present, though they were obvious three weeks ago, to prevent our living together until bed-time, that is, 8, P. M. He has not heard from Burr, though Mr. Martin has visited and offered him to be his counsel, gratis. I was visited by De Pestre, whom I was obliged to send away to attend to Nicholas, who will probably do something definite as to Sanders with Alston to-day or early to-morrow. For, strange to say, the latter, De Pestre assured me, was going home to-day, but Nicholas says he will put it off until to-morrow. I apprehend I shall be obliged to accept of that *friendly* invitation he gave me yesterday. Smith heard that Burr has made financial arrangements in Philadelphia to settle every thing after his acquittal. Midnight.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1807.

The unexpected arrival of Alston on the stairs before 8 o'clock this morning, while I was walking with Major Smith in the passage, operated as a panic, and soon inspired a conviction of the apprehensions I entertained yesterday, after having seen De Pestre, that he would be off with French leave. I composed myself, however, to receive him with an air of confidence I have generally of late dissembled toward him, affecting at the same time a little surprise at so early a visit. This he parried, with a whiff of his cigar, which gave him time to think to say,

"the court was to sit as early as nine, and he meant to lose nothing of all that was expected from Wirt, who would have the advantage of a good foil afforded him yesterday by the wretched exhibition of McRae, which soon became so flat, that it nearly cleared the house." "He affected," said he, "to prance at starting, but could only crawl all day over the ground; even Hay confessing he did not understand the question, and Botts, who would next have spoken, declaring that he had heard nothing that required a reply from him. Alston now called me into my apartment to dispatch the object of his early visit, which seemed to be, to leave town without incurring any complaints of mine for not concluding, before his departure, the so long-expected arrangement with Nicholas. He therefore objected to the difficulties that he said Nicholas and Randolph pretended to feel in removing the attachment from my funds in Philadelphia, without particular orders from Sanders. I said I should expect or coerce Sanders to do that, in virtue of the settlements I had made with him in Lexington, whether Mr. Alston furthered that settlement or not. He then said Nicholas yesterday promised to have the necessary papers ready last evening, but he would have me completely *exonerated* from the demand before he did anything; to which I, of course, assented. But, I asked, what had occasioned the determination I heard he had formed of leaving town yesterday or to-day? "O! the certainty of the trials ending this week had made him desirous of leaving this place, of which he was heartily tired, as soon as possible, and his anxiety to try to raise even a part of the money for my *relief* would the more hurry him away."

He forgot, I suppose, he yesterday told Nicholas he had just received *letters* that *suddenly* called him home. A propensity to rely more on his wits than his memory, is a prominent trait in this character. It would, then, have answered no purpose to have inquired into the fact of the letters being concerned, rather than my sufferings, with the period of his journey. He could easily say, "'t was true, he had letters;" for he is very circumspect to avoid changes upon his words, which I took an occasion again to-day to put to the test by observing to him, that I supposed my losses by Miller's sale of my effects, which had been sacrificed in Wood county, would not be much short of $15,000, which sum would not replace two-thirds of my library, my furniture, instruments, house-linen, etc., with all my farming-stock and implements of husbandry, for all which I had no other hope of *indemnity* but what I could derive from the honor and resources of Col. Burr and himself; to all of which he was silent. But he might, and did, add, nothing more engaged his concern so much as his wishes to relieve my embarrassments. He then told me Col. Burr wished me to be upon my guard against spies, as he apprehended some had been lately visiting me under the mask of friendship. On asking him whether he alluded to any particular persons, I found he had heard of Duane's visit to me on Sunday evening, which was next day in every body's mouth, and may possibly have had some share in engendering a report which as yet has been only whispered, though it may have stolen into some of A. Burr's private audiences. This report states that I now see Burr in a different light from that in

which I first regarded him, and that my fellow-prisoner, Major Smith, is come on determined to denounce Burr, and turn an approver. Alston did not hint this rumor to me, but I thought it would be serviceable to the interests of my pecuniary expectations from him to send him back to Burr, satisfied of my vigilance and perseverance in those duties of honor and good faith which, if they doubted in me, I should never forget I owe to myself. "Ha!" said I, "you 've heard of Duane's visit to me, then; would you wish to see my notes of what passed between us?" "Yes," said he, eagerly, "very much indeed." I then read to him the minutes I had taken on Sunday evening, with which he seemed highly pleased, and said they ought to be published. To this I told him I could not accede, though it might seem to him the more necessary from some observations made to me by Duane, more than I thought necessary to enter in my notes, of which I recollected one, that concerned Alston himself, who now seemed all anxiety for the disclosure he expected. But I affected to attach little importance to the thing, and said, after no small enjoyment of his solicitude about it, "'t was only that Government had got possession of one of his letters to me." "One of my letters!" said he; "I never wrote to you but two upon business of a *private* nature, and any other letter they can have of mine must be a forgery." "To be sure," said I; "or at all events, from the favorable course things are now likely to take, *such* a letter could do no harm." "But what did the rascal," continued he, "state to be the purport of the letter?" "Nothing more," said I, "than proving that

you and myself were equally involved in all Col. Burr's projects." He then abused Duane, repeated his wish my notes were published, and took leave.

I find I have omitted to observe, owing to the hurry and fatigue I suffered the day I arrived in this prison, that Alston, on his first visit to me that evening, acknowledged the receipt of the letter I had written him from Natchez, containing a reprobation of his public letter to Gov. Pinkney, when he said, "he felt now no uneasiness at certain reflections I had therein made use of, which he knew proceeded from a warmth of temper natural to me upon a misconception of his motives, which he had explained to the *satisfaction* (is it possible?) of Col. Burr." To which I answered, that the letter itself would say it was not designed to *excite* any unpleasant sensations, though it was written under impressions that could not be obliterated, and that his not answering my letter, which was so incumbent on him, from the nature of that part of it relating to money matters, so irritated and convinced me that he disregarded my expectations from him, arising from his guarantee for my losses by my concern with Col. Burr and himself, that I was further led to declare, at Lexington, that he was as fully concerned with Col. B. as myself, stating at the same time to him a further motive for such a declaration, which will be found in my notes of the 6th instant. All this he accepted very kindly, assuring me he had written two letters to me. "What! two!" yes; he not only then, that is, on the fourth instant, said two, but said so again to-day. Now those who are blest with his correspondence, will find he is not in the habit of bestowing *two* answers on one letter,

especially when that one has chiefly for its object to bring a demand upon him into action, much less to grant a single reply to a letter which, through respect to his wife, he might at least acknowledge. I allude to our friend Harding's letter to him that he confessed he had received, but told me on his first visit it merely inclosed some *papers* to him, and required no answer. So the generous labors of the head and heart of one of the best men living did not deserve even the thanks of this coxcomb. But it appears from all this, that if his second letter was in answer to the only one I ever wrote him, his first was occupied with some other subject; and the palpable interest with which he listened to the late news Duane left with me for him, joined with the motives that induced him to write the death-warrant of his character to Pinkney, and some late rumors of designs in Government, to institute a prosecution against him also, all leave little room to doubt that the prosecutors have got hold of something he would not like to see. But if this alarm will give me hold upon him, to keep him long enough here to carry some of his sincere wishes into execution, I shall owe Duane more obligations for his visit than he is aware of. I received a note from Prichard, covering the bill I had drawn on Philadelphia in his favor, which was returned for reasons already given in my notes of last Monday. Behold me, then, without a dollar, except the few that remain of thirty Prichard sent me a fortnight since. On this very bill I have had my coat repaired, my umbrella newly covered, my hat dressed, and my boots new-tapped. But this economy will not pay my tavern bill, nor those of my grocer and washer-

woman. Nor will it restore to me the only funds on which I depended for my only *care*, the maintenance of my family. My own wants will never solicit the mantle of charity to shelter them from the pinching blast of adversity, until death shall lay the storm. Until then the cry, even to the heart of Mr. Alston, pray spare a trifle from your stock, to clothe my naked family, with that credit of which you 've stripped it. In this spirit I wrote him what follows: "I have just received the inclosed, by which you may convince Mr. Nicholas of the unjust and absurd obstruction of my credit in Philadelphia, by the continuance of Mr. Sanders's attachment. Having no other source of pecuniary supply to which I can resort for *subsistence* of my family, until I can collect the wreck of their property, I await the accommodation of such credit or *remittances* as your dispositions may devise for the relief of my exigences. Yours, H. B." The servant returned with a *verbal* answer, in these four words—"He will *see* him," importing that Alston would see Nicholas, as if *seeing* N. will indemnify me for all I have suffered, or support my family. Alston told me Belknap has confessed he received from Smith $700 for me, which he denied the night he arrived on the "Island" from Kentucky, the night I left it.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1807.

The bird, I believe, has not flown to-day, but may take wing, I know not what moment. I have neither seen nor heard from him since his verbal answer to my letter of yesterday. The little animal has clapped its wings in screaming essays toward the "Oaks;" but yet may it re-

main a little longer on that egg it has not yet hatched, for the cuckoo that laid it. Wirt raised his reputation yesterday, as high as McRae sunk his the day before. The former, I learn, paid me some compliments. We have many visitors, as usual, of whom I shall only notice Kerr, who sat one hour here this evening. Was cautioned by Dud. Woodbridge to beware of Bennet. But I have him secured by Tupper, who tells me he, Tupper, will support the declarations made by Bennet to him and me, on Bennet's first visit here to me. Major Smith is suffering something of a seasoning.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 1807.

Rose at a quarter past 5 this morning, to walk in the yard, as I had agreed with Major Smith last night; but he rested badly, and had a profuse perspiration when I called upon him, which determined him, with my advice, to stay in bed. So I walked for an hour alone, under a disagreeable fog, with a view to try whether breathing so long another, if not a better, air than that of my room might not enable me to escape to-day a periodical headache, with some fever, we both complain of about 2 o'clock every day since Sunday, and of which we are not free some nights, before we go to bed. Young Swartwout called upon us with Alston. The latter called me out to tell me things will be completed to-day with Nicholas, from whom he will get the original bills on which the attachment was served on the house of J. S. Lewis & Co., as my garnishees, by which, I suppose, I can again open the channel of my credit which the attachment has so long shut up in Philadelphia. He assures me Luckett's

account is not admitted to be correct by Burr, and that I shall not be liable for the bill of $2,500 with my indorsement in Luckett's hands. He has also offered me a draft at sight on Charleston, for the bill returned me by Prichard. He concluded his money business with me this morning, by telling me Col. Burr will be soon in cash, having concluded some financial arrangements with a Mr. Pollock, who is very rich. I must not forget, however, he also told me his settling both Sanders's and Miller's claims, if the latter will come into the arrangement, will, with the incidental charges, require payments by him to the amount of $16,000; so that after settling Sanders's claim, if Miller won't settle in the same way, he has proposed to take up his present letter of guarantee and give me another to indemnify me for what Miller may be entitled to recover of me, to which I have assented. Mr. Alston has found Wirt, though not without merit, so far as he was figurative, monotonous, with bad or no action, and better recommended by the foil McRae afforded him than any interest his late essay could inspire. He seems to-day to partake of apprehensions entertained by Col. Burr's friends, that the Chief Justice may yield to want of energy, in ruling all the points now before him, as the able efforts of the counsel for the defense can not fail to prove the law requires. Surely, if the law has not been mistaken on the side of the accused, the calumny which has been propagated through the crowd, of Burr's emissaries having made an attempt to take off Mr. Duncan by laudanum, would tend to strengthen rather the energies of such a head and heart as the Chief Justice is probably blessed with. This Duncan has been brought

here, I am told, to prove a negative; namely, that Wilkinson is not a Spanish officer or pensioner. Duane has kept his promise to abandon the field yesterday. I find to-day he is an expert angler, and adapts his flies and tackling not only to the waters and seasons of his choice, but to that kind of fish that are the objects of his sport; at least, the first cast of his line has caught that wary fish, the natural history of which has engaged so much of these notes. I have been accordingly informed, a formal demand has been made upon Hay to declare whether the Government or himself possess a certain letter, of which a sketch has been given here the 25th instant. The scene that this interview probably presented will, I know not how long, be reserved for recital in the secret mysteries of the prosecution. Alston, on his part, gave me too sublime a rehearsal of the dignity and force with which he launched the bolts of his defiance on all the Titans of Virginia, for me to presume to imitate it in these memoranda, without incurring the suspicion at least of being disposed to burlesque it. The Titan Hay, however, he assured me, he overwhelmed with mountains of consternation and dismay; in short, the fact was denied, and what was very extraordinary, as the like never happened before, imprecations of mendacity, on the fame of Col. Duane, were endured with patience by Jefferson's attorney. The existence, however, of the letter, be it remembered, is as yet no more disproved than A.'s title to Agrestis is established. When Alston observed to me, to-day, he would give me a new guarantee against the amount of Miller's recovery, I said, that would be necessary for two purposes; first, for the purpose of transferring

it, as I had the former one, to Sanders, or raising money on it, as I had nothing else left to pledge; secondly, for the benefit of my family, in the event of my death, which I thought very probably might soon happen. I could see well enough to discern a pointed attention on his part to the *last* reason. He had on a former occasion observed, when I assured him I should publicly expose the perfidy and dishonor of Graham and the Hendersons, at all hazards, be the issue of these trials what it might, "that my short sight would lay me under very unfair disadvantages;" to which I answered, "I should know how to accommodate the distance to the extent of my sight;" and, to-day, he hoped with *earnestness* that I would not think on any gloomy subject to cloud the prospect of many happy years I shall yet enjoy. This was not *his* language, but his precise meaning; how far it was sincere may be imagined from his talking in this way, after he returned me what another man might have kept, my letter given here the 25th instant, without lisping a syllable on the exposure I made to him in that letter of my *second* humiliation before his wealth, to solicit an atom from the heap to assuage the distress he is bound to relieve. Be it remembered, he has never questioned demands I made upon him, independent of his first guarantee for disbursements I have made for Col. Burr, to between four and five thousand dollars, in a letter of which he acknowledged the receipt on the 4th instant, any more than statements of other losses, an indemnity for which, when ascertained, will be sought in the *honor* and resources of Col. Burr and himself. Tupper has promised me a copy of his song of the "Battle of the Boats," and

tells me the Hendersons now affect that they are *obliged* to testify against me. When we recollect their menaces in Wood county to denounce me, after they had prostituted their honor to a spy, we must rather believe they regret to testify against that letter Sandy wrote his father, soliciting his consent to his son's espousing the principles and conduct, I confidentially recommended to them, which letter will show what treason I recommended or was engaged in. Robison and others tell us, this evening, Hay had the insolence to insinuate to-day, to the Chief Justice, an impeachment, if he did not overrule all the points now before the Court. Does the Chief Justice want energy at such a crisis to declare the law? surely this insult should give it to him. Prichard assures me Burr, on his acquittal, will not soon leave this town. Civil demands upon him will gather round him from all quarters, to a far greater amount than he can find bail for, if Pollock, or some other preserving angel, does not shield him from this new host. Then, indeed, will he fall more inglorious than from a gibbet. I am very unwell this evening, suffering under a return of the like oppressive weather I endured during the first fortnight of my imprisonment.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1807.

I awoke yesterday morning with a continuance of the indisposition under which I had labored on Thursday evening. I was affected with much fever and racking headache, to a degree of severity that compelled me to return to bed before breakfast, after taking three or four grains of calomel. Dud. Woodbridge called me aside

this morning to complain that the "Enquirer" has misrepresented the evidence he gave last Wednesday. He said he had been to the printer on the subject. I could not understand distinctly, however, what particular fact had been misstated. He observed to me that he was at a loss to conceive the object of the counsel on both sides, examining him upon matters altogether irrelevant to the questions before the Court; such as, his opinion of my talents and studies, his knowledge of the amount of my property, and particularly the value of my place on the Ohio. But he supposed the drift of Col. Burr was to show that I could in no sense be regarded as a military character. He apologized for his having said that "I had more other sense than common sense," an expression which he said escaped him in the hurry and warmth of his examination. I accepted this explanation, but wished him to inform me what motive the counsel could have to exhibit me to the jury as a character less skilled in the ordinary affairs of life than common men? He now stated to me, that Burr's special confidants, who formerly sought his company here, of late, seemed rather inclined to avoid him, for which he was at a loss to account; but that, while he boarded in the same house with Bollman, this gentleman had devoted much pains to learn from him all he could of my character, by which, having extracted from him an opinion that I was *eccentric*, Bollman, who was informed of the testimony he had given before the grand jury, regretted very much that D. Woodbridge had not informed that body of the circumstance. All this is mysterious to me, and will remain so until I can explore the matter by opportunities I shall not fail to

seek. I have had a large draft upon my little funds, of $2.55 for a large packet from Philadelphia, covering the following inclosures; namely, two letters from Elliott and another from his wife, with the seal cut open, and several others of importance. Burr yesterday informed me, by note, he had an *unsettled* account with Luckett, who holds one of his drafts for $25, with my indorsement, which it would gratify him much if I could discharge: but Alston, two or three days ago, assured me Luckett's account was not allowed, and I should not be called upon to pay this draft. Will these adventurers never meet but in duplicity? Mr. Alston has not appeared to me since Thursday; he is probably engrossed to-day by Martin's concluding speech, in reply upon the points now before the Court. Wood, this morning, gave me some information, which, if true, proves Burr as bad a general out of the field as I have no doubt he would prove in it. Speaking of several characters that Burr had subpœnaed from Kentucky, I inquired, what benefit he expected to derive from John Brown, who I heard had arrived? "He can expect none from him," said Wood; "he will find Brown more Wilkinson's friend than his." "Brown is as truly pensioned as Sebastian was by the Spanish Government;" and Col. Burr must have strangely overrated his own powers, if he ever thought that these men would have joined him in any thing but words against Spain, while he might with the greatest ease, when he was in Kentucky, have enlisted Daveiss and the whole Marshall party in his interest. "Daveiss and Dr. Marshall," he added, "would gladly have embarked in all or any of his speculations; they had no Spanish ties to break, and

Daviess instituted the first proceedings against him, partly from a sense of neglect on the part of Burr, and through enmity to the President, who he fully believed was concerned with Burr, or connived at his operations. Be these things as they may, true or false, as Wood is more or less deserving of credit—it should be remembered that Wood once possessed the confidence of the Marshall faction, by which he had an opportunity of knowing their dispositions—that however unprincipled he may have proved in other instances, he still adheres to the denunciations he published in the "Western World," which have already ruined Sebastian, and may yet lead to the conviction of other culprits, and that as he has now abandoned all concern with politics and newspapers, save so far as he can be serviceable to Burr, he can have no calculable interest in depreciating the views or talents of any of the persons he has reflected upon. But the present trial can not fail to furnish ample testimony, if not to the guilt, at least to the defect of every talent, under the assumption of which this giddy adventurer has seduced so many followers of riper experience and better judgment than myself. You were right, therefore, honest Hay, in observing the other day to Woodbridge, while expressing your concern for my situation, "that I must now think Burr had duped me;" but you were wrong in supposing I am indebted to you for the discovery; I am possessed of it these nine months. I am still without relief of my anxiety for my poor family. I pray the mercy of Heaven to prepare me for the first news I shall hear from them. 11 o'clock, P. M.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 30, 1807.

I have heard this morning from Ellis, that General Jackson is hourly expected in town, and Ashley's arrival also looked for, this evening or to-morrow. If by either of these chances I shall be blessed with no disastrous news of my family, or even with a revival of those hopes that I have too long brooded upon, of once more beholding the picture of my beloved wife, how great a load of care my hours of sorrow will throw off. I trust Almighty God will first ordain I shall bow with devout gratitude before I bound in levity or transports, to which I have so long been a stranger; or, if I idly dream, to wake perhaps to realities of sad reverse, then let me first invoke the Divine mercy, to retain me faithful to all my duties, in every task allotted to my destiny. I had a very interesting conversation this morning with John Banks and Mercer, and both eagerly charged themselves with the care of sending me good soup; and as my late sickness induced me at their desire to complain of the quality of necessaries sent from the tavern, in pursuance of which, soon after, Mercer left me a present of refreshments of fruit and good butter, and fine calves-feet jelly, was sent in ice by Mrs. Gamble. The conversation, of course, had no other object so natural to engage our interest as a comparison of the foundation of different conjectures respecting the decision the Chief Justice will deliver to-morrow on those points which have so long balanced this town between law and faction, and will so much longer poise the trembling passions of the distant multitude on the same pivot. Each of us was not with-

out an inuendo, or an anecdote, of no small interest to Major Smith, who, I was happy to see, continued of the party. My hints were thrown out only in general terms, alluding to the inferences I had endeavored to draw from the intelligence Wood yesterday gave me. Mercer, who, it is said, is much enamored of a very accomplished young lady, a relation of the Chief Justice, ably exerted his happy address for some time, not indeed to confirm the sense Banks and myself professed we so fully entertained of General Marshall's high talents, deep erudition and amiable virtues, but to discharge our apprehensions of some doubts we said we lamented they had imbibed, that the Chief Justice would possess *all* the energy that would be necessary to reconcile the opinion he had delivered on the part of the Supreme Court in the case of Bollman and Swartwout, with such another as would be required of him to establish the most material of all the points now before him. Mercer insinuated he had opportunities from whence he could deduce a different anticipation. But neither Banks nor myself could hereby perceive his conjectures to be better warranted than our own. Banks was now led, after indulging himself with some general reflections on the difficulty and delicacy of the Chief Justice's present dilemma, in which we all concurred, to tell us an anecdote, with which I was surprised to find Mercer unacquainted, from whence Banks indeed did not infer that the Chief Justice will, on the present occasion, shrink from his duty, as an able judge or a virtuous patriot, to avert the revenge of an unprincipled government, or avoid other trials menaced, and preparing for himself by its wretched partisans, but he

lamented, and certainly our choicest sympathies harmonized with his feelings, that the facts he had mentioned, of which he vouched the verity, referring Mercer to the office and file of the Argus, had already proved that the Chief Justice had explained or accommodated his energies on the bench in conformity to the views of his enemies, by ordering or permitting in his *private character* something to be inserted in the Argus, in the form of an apology to, or exculpation of, Wilkinson, purporting to contravene, but altogether inconsistent with, the tenor or expressions of declarations of opinions he, as a judge, had delived on the bench. This will, no doubt, engage Mercer's interest and anxiety so much that I will, to-day, add not a word to what I have already said, on a discovery that has not a little depressed me. Yet I am certain, whatever *dust* or insects may have sought the Judge's robes while off his back, none will venture to appear upon the ermine that bedecks his person. Mercer and Banks gave me not less than two hours of their company, which, whether considered with regard to the elegance and interest of Mercer's conversation, or the friendly concern testified by Banks for the issue of the trial, constituted one of the most agreeable visits I have received since my imprisonment. Mercer promised to bring me the earliest tidings of the decision to-morrow. Alston is too much occupied to call upon me, when such an effort is not indispensable.

The influenza has arrived here, and found its way into half the families of the town. I am severely affected with it; this is the third illness I have had here, which has compelled me to resort to medicine. As we were

chatting over some of Mrs. Gamble's fruit after dinner, in came the whole rear-guard of Burr's forensic army—I mean the celebrated Luther Martin, who yesterday concluded his fourteen hours' speech. His visit was to Major Smith; but he took me by the hand, saying, there was no need of an introduction. I was too much interested by the little I had seen, and the great things I had heard, of this man's powers and passions not to improve the present opportunity to survey him in every light the length of his visit would permit. I accordingly recommended our brandy as considered superior, placing a pint tumbler before him. No ceremonies retarded the libation; no inquiries solicited him on any subject, until apprehensions of his withdrawing suggested some topic to quiet him on his seat. Were I now to mention only the subjects of law, politics, news, etc., on which he descanted, I should not be believed when I had said his visit did not exceed thirty-five minutes. I imagine a man capable, in that space of time, to deliver some account of an entire week's proceedings in the trial, with extracts from memory of several speeches on both sides, including long ones from his own, to recite half columns, *verbatim*, of a series of papers of which he said he is the author, under the signature of "Investigator," to caricature Jefferson, give the history of his acquaintance with Burr, expatiate on his *virtues* and sufferings, maintain his credit, embellish his fame, and intersperse the whole with sententious reprobations and praises of other characters. Some estimate, with these preparations, may be formed of this man's powers, which are yet shackled by great embarrassment of delivery. In this his manner is rude,

and his language ungrammatical, which is cruelly aggravated upon his hearers by the verbosity and repetitions of his style. With the warmest passions that hurry him like a torrent over those characters or topics of his conversation that lie most in the way of their course, he has by practice acquired the faculty of curbing his feelings, while he never suffers to charge the enemy until broken by the superior numbers of his arguments and authorities, by which he always outflanks him; then he lets loose the reserve upon the center with redoubled impetuosity. Yet fancy has been as much denied to his mind as grace to his person or habits. These are gross, and incapable of restraint, even on the most solemn public occasions. Hence his invectives are rather coarse than pointed; his eulogiums more fulsome than pathetic. In short, my amiable young friend Mercer, in his accustomed classical neatness, gives me every trait of his portrait, when in one word he calls him the "Thersites of the law." Yet, though Mr. M. did not intend to sit here to so bad an artist, he has literally promised me his portrait by a better hand, and I believe he is not without many moral good qualities, not very inconsistent with the sketch I have attempted of his character. I have no doubt he is unrivaled for zeal in the service of his friends, while he retains them from the concern with which he spoke of Burr's financial difficulties, declaring his friend could find security in Baltimore for $100,000, which I doubt, though I do not at all question Martin, as he said so, would be his bail for $10,000. I regret to find Smith neglected, not only by Burr, but Burr's satellites. I asked Martin if the prosecutors won't succeed, as I predicted by letter to B.,

before I got here to put him upon a defense on the treason bill, that will *nearly* amount to a confession of the misdemeanor? I think this has actually happened. Martin thought that because Burr alleges he expected war between Spain and the United States, his expedition was lawful. But may not a jury think Burr did not expect the war, and find their verdict then on the confession?

MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1807.

I suffered total privation of sleep last night, by the unremitting severity of my cough. This is the most oppressive day I have yet endured in this place, and my lassitude was so great, that after seeing Strickland, who, I am glad to hear, sets out for Natchez about Saturday, I read for two hours, but was obliged to go to bed, where I slept until awaked by Mercer, with a report of the Chief Justice's opinion, stating, in substance, that all the points of so much expectation had been established in favor of the accused, and my indictment virtually got rid of, by the Judge's opinion, that the evidence adduced to prove the overt acts did not prove such an assemblage as the law required to constitute a traitorous one. Mercer took much pains to state every detail his memory could suggest; but I was little revived with the news. I have yet too many other trials to pass. The Court adjourned to six o'clock this evening, when the prosecutors are to be prepared to state the course they will now pursue. The result I shall learn to-morrow morning, and be thereby probably enabled to look to the period of my imprisonment. When I shall have access to Burr and Alston, it will be my fault if I do not see them when I

ought. My chest is very sore; I will take some medicine, and endeavor to sleep, after first offering up my cares and prayers to Heaven for my wife and boys.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1807.

This morning I find my influenza much abated by the good effects of the medicine I took last night. Visited, as usual, by a variety of persons, before and after the adjournment of the Court, by whom we learn, Hay observed, with an affectation of terseness, that he had examined the opinion of the Court, and had no *further* arguments or evidence to offer, by which I should understand he meant to envelop in uncertainty the course the prosecutors will now pursue, of which no conjecture can be formed before to-morrow. A diversity of opinions, however, seems already to dissect the speculations of the prosecutors; some supposing all the indictments will be abandoned by nolle-prosequis; others, that Burr will be proceeded against immediately on the misdemeanor; and some more, that a motion will be made to have him sent to the District of Kentucky, where things may work more favorably to convict him of overt acts, suggested to have been committed by him at the mouth of Cumberland river; while, on the other hand, it is said, Burr will to-morrow move for nothing less than to be discharged from the indictment for the misdemeanor. But this seems to me too bold a dash on the part of the accused. I should rather presume, on the contrary, that the Judge would allow the prosecutors all the latitude of discretion they may desire in adducing evidence to prove that degree or probability of guilt that may induce the Court to

transmit the accused to another district, from which they had precluded themselves by the form in which they had framed the indictment for treason. Yet I can not believe the Chief Justice will ever say, a man once put in jeopardy of life in one district for treason, charged to have been therein committed and acquitted thereof, may afterward be put to answer *charges* of *other* overt acts of the *same* treason in another district. Though a man may be responsible to the law, in twelve districts severally, for a distinct treason committed in each, provided the *animus* or design *quo* (with which) he sought his *object* by the overt acts in each be proven to have operated the overt acts, as their immediate preceding motive, within the district where they are laid in the indictment to have been committed. Thus, a man may successively meditate, and *mentally* organize or arrange, eleven separate treasons, in as many States, the execution of all which he may abandon; but finally, in a twelfth, he may attempt to reduce his project into action. But evidence of overt acts in the last State can not borrow evidence of the design from any of the former to complete his crime. The jury, I hope, have to-day evinced more of caprice than party spirit, by affecting to bring in something like a special verdict of acquittal. It will, however, be entered generally on the record. Burr has written to me to solicit Alston to assume the amount of the bill Luckett holds, and felicitates me on the events of yesterday. I have gratified Luckett with a letter to that effect to Alston, whom I have not seen since Thursday.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1807.

My cough still causing me some loss of rest, I had not risen this morning before seven, when I was visited by Wickham and Botts. They staid about fifteen minutes, and called to acquaint me they meant to-morrow to offer the special plea to my indictment, on which account they had come to invite me to visit the folks at the capitol. They told me Burr was not *solicitous* about his discharge, which they thought would not take place for three or four days. They apprehended an attempt would be made to have us all transmitted to the Kentucky or other districts, which they did not appear to think would prevail. After breakfast, being very languid, we did nothing but read until a little after noon, when a Deputy Marshal unexpectedly roused us into action, by a summons to attend the Court. We dressed in five minutes, and accompanied the officer in a distressing warm walk. We did not return till the Court adjourned, about half-past four. On our arrival, the Court seemed disengaged, as if it had been waiting for us. During this pause I could only collect from Botts, that some motion was before the Court, which he had not time to explain, before Hay rose to observe, that as Major Smith and myself were present, and as we were similarly circumstanced with A. Burr, the same course should be pursued with us all. This called up Botts, who was followed by Wickham, both in very able arguments, contending that our cases were totally separate and distinct from Burr's; the latter not being now, on account of his acquittal of the treason, legally present before the Court; the only proper means to bring

him there, to answer to the indictment for the misdemeanor, being, by summons or *venire facias*, according to the laws and practice of Virginia, where process of *capias* is not allowed for any offense less than capital. Burr said he was ready to enter an appearance to the indictment for the misdemeanor, insisting, until he did so, he was not legally in court on that charge; from whence I inferred, that the motion made before my arrival was probably for his discharge under the proclamation that should have ensued, on recording the verdict yesterday of his acquittal. Wickham and Botts supported their arguments with not only English and Federal authorities, but with the doctrines of Hay himself, delivered by him in his evidence on Chase's trial, which they dressed up in such comments and strictures as exhibited Hay the most bewildered spectacle of confusion and mortification I ever saw exposed to a public assembly. The Chief Justice said he should proceed to assign counsel to Major Smith —for which purpose the latter got me to write a letter for him yesterday—if the counsel of the United States meant to proceed against him on his treason bill, to which Hay answered, "it would be unnecessary, he believed." The Judge then observed, that the arguments would require his postponing his opinion until to-morrow morning. After the Court was adjourned, Burr and ourselves were detained about ten minutes by the absence of the Marshal and his deputies, who had stepped aside somewhere out of my sight, I believe, upon some consultation respecting the expense of Burr's guard until to-morrow; for I soon heard Burr tell Botts he would pay the expense himself. The guard over him, at his present

quarters, has hitherto cost the United States seven dollars a day, which, it is now understood, he must pay himself until discharged, since his life has been redeemed from the mortgage the Government had on it. Burr, during this detention, said he hoped he should be able to come to see us to-morrow or next day; but I fancy we shall have the liberty of the town as soon as his highness; and so after *all*, it is one hundred to one, I shall never be ever arraigned for treason. On entering the dome of the capitol I was indemnified for the severity of my walk, not merely by the pleasure of the transition from the heat abroad to the shade and lower temperature of that part of the building, but by the enjoyment of beholding a face I had not yet seen in town. I passed close by Phelps, whose visage exhibited so high-colored a picture of the disappointment of his malice, that I involuntarily smiled upon him with such satisfaction as almost tempted me to wish him joy. My hurry, however, did not permit me to speak. I must reserve my words for something more human. Tupper expects letters this evening. I have charged Billy to see him, and be with me as early as he can. If I but wake to good tidings from Natchez, how shall I sacrifice to the God of fathers, for his preservation of my Harman, whom I have again dreamed I have lost.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1807.

I opened my eyes first this morning in quest only of that object, in exclusion of all others, that occupied my heart last night. But instead of letters through General Tupper, Billy brought me early a note from him, to an-

nounce that there were three letters from my wife, not here, arrived for me, but at Marietta. To Almighty God be first offered my grateful and humble thanksgiving. I am hereby enabled to conjecture, with much probability, my beloved wife, at least, was well about the middle of July. But I dare not so far presume upon the favor of Providence as to conclude my boys, particularly *Harman*, were in health at that period, much less, how long they and their mother have since continued well. This note has given me, however, a vivacity to-day, in spite of the oppressiveness of the weather, I have not before experienced in this prison, where, it is true, my friends have sometimes made me bear a part in the humor or interest of the story; but I have ever felt on such occasions in the state Nicholas described, when he gives us the account of that part of his life during which he was conscious of being under the influence of two minds at the same instant. Or, at least, my heart would pity the momentary fluttering of my spirits, which, on such occasions, could never soar above its trouble. That truly worthy Irishman, Mr. Hendren, has come again to town, apparently on purpose to see me. (See notes of 8th ult.) If I shall be detained here, as is probable, for some time, after I shall be bailed or discharged, I have engaged to visit him at Shirley, twenty miles from here. Not having seen any one since the rising of the court this evening, we are without any knowledge of the proceedings there to-day. Luckett called, this morning, to tell me Alston required me to write to him again, to desire he would settle or assume the amount of the bill Luckett holds, with my indorsement, saying my last letter to him on Monday to

do so, did not express my desire with sufficient certainty. This is admirable! Major Smith has seen that letter, and only wanted to hear this statement by Luckett, which, if true, settles Mr. Alston's intentions and mine. The first to put off, the last to hasten; if he leaves this town, without his having reasons I shall approve of for not making the settlements he has undertaken, my purpose is fixed to follow him to the "Oaks" with a friend, very soon after my discharge, when it shall not exceed forty-eight hours to conclude all my business with him. I have written to William Thompson a long letter, accepting his tender of a correspondence, and returning him my sincere disposition to improve our acquaintance into a friendship. Recurring with Mr. Smith to some incidents that happened soon after our arrival at Natchez, and speaking of Cowles Meade, I was much surprised to learn what I had never heard before, that Meade had seriously taken up an idea of Col. Burr's being then *deranged*, alleging that he could not be mistaken, as he, Meade, had very long known him. Be this as it may, Burr, yesterday, looked fifty per cent. better than I have ever seen him, and displayed a command of tone and firmness of manner he did not appear to me to possess before the verdict of Tuesday. 11, P. M.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1807.

Visited this morning by Ellis and Doctor Monholland, who inform us yesterday was spent in Court in a desultory disputation on Hay's attempt, moved or suggested to have Burr transmitted to the Kentucky District; on which the Chief Justice has yet made no rule, as they

understand he conceives the indictment for the misdemeanor must be first got rid of here. They also tell us Burr went out about 1 o'clock to procure bail, which they supposed he did not effect, as his guard were in *statu quo* this morning. I have written a thankful letter to two: I have received one from Jas. O. Hennessy, a Kerry schoolmaster, who appears to be settled as a private tutor in the family of Hudson Martin, Esq., near York Post-office, Albemarle county, and is very solicitous to serve me. Read the best part of this morning, as is generally my practice when not otherwise employed, and which will show I have not been idle, wherever it might appear by this diary the minutes of any particular day are few or uninteresting. Hay has made a special return *instanter*, to a *subpœna, duces-tecum*, ordering him to produce a letter from Jefferson to Wilkinson, which Hay did not wish made public, as parts of it were confidential. But his return was not accepted, and he has been coerced to produce the letter. The whole day has been spent in altercation on this subject, and the question whether evidence should be gone into to determine upon the transmissal of us all to another district, before our indictments for the misdemeanor are here disposed of. In Burr's case, the Chief Justice has determined his discharge from his treason bill, and ordered his trial for the misdemeanor to proceed directly. 11, P. M.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1807.

Burr is to-day to give bail to the misdemeanor, the Chief Justice having yesterday determined a *capias* is the proper process, and not a summons, on grounds I am

ignorant of. The sum was settled at $5,000, Burr having prayed it might be reduced below what it had been formerly fixed at since his acquittal; and his being in custody on *civil process*, altered his situation, and now made it more difficult for him to find bail than before. Strange! I should never before have heard of this arrest on civil process having been made upon him, and still being unremoved. I observed to Alston, who has just left me, that I found by to-day's papers, Col. Burr and the Judge had both referred to this circumstance as influential in settling the *quantum* of the bail. He did not like it, and asked, peevishly, "What is it the papers will not talk about?" This man, with his most active associates, Bollman and Sam. Swartwout, to whom probably young Dayton may now be added, has, I believe, been more active with every thing than his purse to serve the interests of Burr; his industry enabled him, rather than his judgment or knowledge of the subject, to anticipate the opinion of the Chief Justice on the late arguments of an entire week, long before any body else scarcely would venture an opinion, or conjecture about it. And if the *Coryphæi* of the prosecution were solicitous to collect, from every opportunity they could derive from the Judge's conduct, materials to fabricate an impeachment against him, the Triumviri above mentioned were not less busy in their preparations, by rumors or publications, to arraign him for timidity before the tribunal of public opinion, in case his judgments had been adverse to their wishes. Notwithstanding the dignity and independence of the Judge's mind, I suspect from some hints dropped to me by Mercer, Mr. Marshall early perceived his course lay between Scylla and Charyb-

dis, though he equally disregarded the dangers that menaced him on either side. Again, Alston has detected, by his spies, some curious governmental manœuvres, that have been going on in Kentucky, nothing less than preparations by Bibb, the District Attorney there, for our prosecution in that State to be instituted, if not already commenced, the moment we are discharged here, provided only the necessary witnesses can be trained and suborned, and a grand jury packed for the purpose. Alston assures me the grand jury was actually to have been embodied yesterday, if the scheme had succeeded, of which he expected to be advised by Monday. Hence we learn to account for Hay's delays, to dismiss the other treason bills here, which he may yet possibly proceed upon, though he has declared he would enter *nolle prosequis* if he finds his speculations in Kentucky likely to miscarry. Why else has Major Smith been served to-day with copies of his indictments? Alston tells me, Duncan was yesterday evening examined upon interrogatories by consent, by Burr and Botts, preparatory to his, Duncan, leaving town to-day. The object was to obtain matter to discredit Wilkinson. It is pretended Duncan has proved Wilkinson guilty of forgery, in erasing and altering the cipher letter. But I do not place implicit reliance on the full extent of this statement. Burr's guard, it is added, will be dismissed to-day. But the business of bailing may undergo some procrastination, I suppose, if any part of it depends upon expectations from Alston, who has not to-day said a word to me upon money matters, from which I do by no means imagine he has yet concluded any thing with Nicholas or Luckett. I was not sorry he

did not call me out. I shall not forget to construe his silence upon my last note to him, to settle with Luckett for the bill as an acceptance of one demand, at least, beyond the limits of his letter of guarantee. Though had he spoken to me in private, I was prepared to express to him my surprise at the freedom he used in speaking of what passed during my visit from Duane, after I had apprised him I did not wish it published; also, to warn him of my being acquainted with the *officious* inquiries his friend Bollman had been making about me, and to acquaint him, that though his agent in Philadelphia would probably exonerate me from one of the attachments, yet he had not paid the bill, in the manner stated to me on a former occasion. (See notes of 27th and 29th ult.)

Since writing the above, before dinner, I find this evening I have been much mistaken in my conjectures of the morning respecting the hero of these notes. Luckett has just stepped off with Alston's letter of guarantee to me, on which I have seen a special receipt from Nicholas to him, for a bond and mortgage. Luckett brought it to me to request I would also endorse on it an order to settle his demand for the bill, which I did very readily. The news by this arrival is, that Burr, besides his bail already mentioned, procured security to-day, also, for $30,000, in civil suits, which have been here commenced against him; that he enjoyed a long walk this evening with Mrs. Alston, in which he exhibited himself through the greater part of the town, and will probably honor me with a visit to-morrow. It is again threatened that Alston will be off to-morrow, but not without seeing me; I fancy he will, in case he comes *pour prendre congé*, take away with him,

from my valediction, more matter of reflection for him to ponder on, at the Oaks, than has yet troubled him on my account. Half past 10, P. M.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1807.

As I learned yesterday, which I 've omitted to mention, that Burr's trial for the misdemeanor had been ordered by the Court to commence to-morrow, the uncertainty of its duration has caused me no small uneasiness, lest it might prolong my imprisonment until the period of its termination. This apprehension has led me this morning to suggest, by note to my counsel, the expedient of my pleading in abatement to both my indictments, to-morrow morning on the opening of the court, at once before the trial begins. I have had a short line in answer from Botts, saying, he will this evening confer with Randolph and Wickham, and endeavor to have me brought into court, pursuant to my desire. My speculation, on the success of this manœuvre, opens to me a prospect of no small interest and amusement, as it may affect the recovery of my liberty, at least for a time, and promises to occasion no little embarrassment to the prosecutors, who can not, I believe, support a demurrer to the plea, which when established will, of course, destroy both of the present indictments against me, and thereby reduce Hay to the dilemma of seeing me fully discharged by the Court, or oblige him to apply for a recommitment, in order to have me transmitted to another district. But to open and examine the evidence from which alone he could exhibit even the semblance of probable cause to induce the Court to grant such a motion, would occasion

such an interference and obstruction of Burr's trial now pending, that he must be inevitably distanced, unless he can prevent my pleading until the present trial is at an end, which I also expect he will fail in, because I conceive it a matter of right that I should plead when I am ready to do so. Besides, the Court will have sufficient leisure; for I understand from Mercer and Kerr, that Burr's trial will not, in fact, commence before Tuesday, or perhaps Wednesday. These gentlemen, in giving me this intelligence this morning, acquaint me with some curious circumstances, which have occasioned the expected suspension. It seems, after Hay's special return to the subpœna *duces-tecum* on Friday, stating that he deemed certain parts of Wilkinson's letter, of 12th of November, to Jefferson, confidential, which he therefore could not part with, etc., was held insufficient, after an animated discussion by the Court, which threatened to enforce Mr. Hay's compliance with its orders. He then begged time to learn Wilkinson's pleasure, as to his producing the letter. Yesterday, however, he took new ground, and prayed to amend his return, which now set forth, "that on a further perusal and examination of the said letter, he discovered it contained some secrets of state, whereupon he prayed time to obtain Jefferson's consent or dissent to his producing it." Four days, I am told, is the extent of the time allowed for his receiving an answer from Monticello. But it is a little curious, that in order to learn his master's pleasure he should send the letter to him, which I am assured he has actually done, so that we may, by possibility, be gratified with the scene that may ensue on Jefferson's heroism, opposing his shield to the onset of the

Chief Justice upon his attorney. But the bewildered Hay has, in the mean time, "let the cat out of the bag;" for the great secret of state is now all over the town. It happened thus. While the guardian of state secrecy and private confidence was yesterday descanting before the Court on the sacred obligations of these duties, the deities or demons of theft and discord, combining with the evil genii of Jefferson and Hay, directed the keen scent and piercing eye of a vulture to that prey most natural to his appetite. John Graham, whose name may find a place perhaps in the history of the present administration, from his exploits as a spy and informer in their service, politely stepped up to the table where the letter lay, and while Hay was earnestly defending the inviolable secrecy of its contents, this "Bird of Paradise" was pecking at the forbidden fruit. The example was followed by other fowl, I know not how far, of the same feather.' But some magpies, I find, were so delighted with the fruit, of which they had eaten in the same manner, that they flew through the streets in the evening, intoxicated with its flavor, and chattering the words, "Militia traitors!" These fine birds could not speak in detail of all the sweets on which they had regaled themselves; yet can they rival that celebrated parrot that detected a Prince of Orange incog., and squall, when a little man passes by them, "Great General." The oracles of intrigue, however, at the capitol, have been resorted to on this occasion, who have answered, "that a great General expressed his opinion, as a secret of state, that the Mississippi and Orleans militias should not be trusted." I am a little pleased with this anecdote, and have some thoughts of giving it to the

public. I find Tupper and many other witnesses are about to return home, some being discharged as they arrived; i. e., unexamined, some having, by consent of parties, left their affidavits. I am inclined to infer, from these appearances, that poor Hay rather feels craw-sick, than that he is not yet fully gorged with the banquet of professional fame, at which he has made so long a sitting. As for McRae, he is utterly chop-fallen; an object of disgust to his friends, and pity to his enemies. Luther Martin sat some time with us this morning. He said he came to see his client Major Smith; but his vanity as an author and a father led him to bring me his strictures on the barbarous and sanguinary toasts that were drank on the Fourth of July, against Burr and himself, at Elktown, in Maryland, and also to read two letters from two of his daughters. His retort on the toasters is a good philippic on their *bloody* ignorance of the law, but a mass of verbiage, engrossing more than one page of a paper, the points and arguments of which might all be neatly expressed in half a column. He improves in interest, as I get a nearer view of his sensibilities, through which he shines far brighter as a father or a friend than he will ever appear through his oratory or his writings as an advocate or an author.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1807.

This day, at 11 o'clock, A. M., ended my captivity, which has lasted fifty-three days. I was taken down to Court about ten o'clock, when Mr. Botts called upon Hay to know what he meant to do with my treason-bill, which Hay agreed to have discharged, but required my detention in custody on the indictment for the misdemeanor,

which produced a conversation on the subject of bail, during which D. Woodbridge offered me his services. After an examination on the amount of his property, he was accepted as my security in $5,000, myself being bound in the same sum, on condition that I attend the court on Wednesday, and not depart the same from day to day, without license, until discharged. John Banks had also come up to court to assist me in the way of bail. He afterward accompanied me in quest of a lodging, which I have found at a Mr. Walton's, who seems a good sort of man, and will, upon my solicitation, if necessary, come forward to-morrow to bail Major Smith, though L. Martin will take that friendship on himself. We then repaired to the Post-office, where I was made happy by a letter from my beloved wife, of the 3d ult., whom the favor of Almighty God permitted the blessing of her health, and that of our boys. I then visited Aaron Burr, now settled in the house occupied lately by Alston, who has at last gone off this morning in the way he has so long threatened, that is, without taking leave. In the evening, I returned to the Penitentiary to visit Major Smith, and, after acquainting him with my having provided more agreeable quarters for him, I came away with L. Martin, and took up my abode at my lodgings, under a severe headache, the forerunner of another day's sickness, which I shall probably undergo to-morrow. But it is just the happiness conferred by a letter from Natchez should be tempered with an alloy.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1807.

As I apprehended on Monday night, I spent yesterday

in bed, under much fever and sickness. In the morning, I fortunately begged Mr. Walton to take my cloak, as he was an invalid, and it was very rainy, and step up to court, in case of his assistance being wanted to bail Major Smith. Mr. W. had on Monday agreed, after much solicitation on my part, to come forward as the Major's bail, if necessary. But as I had some slight fears of Martin's forgetting engagements he had made while in his cups, thought it most prudent to have Walton on the spot, and the event justified my prudence; for though Martin had not forgotten his promise, he was incapable of executing it, through the effects of yesterday morning's potations. I was informed by Major Smith, that had not Mr. Walton arrived when he did, the Court would very soon have remanded him for want of bail, Martin having in vain endeavored to express his purpose, in which Burr interrupted him, not liking the statement he was trying to make to the Court, though Martin would gladly have entered bail to any amount, for he is, I am now convinced, one of the best-hearted men alive. I slept badly last night, and am very weak to-day, though I have attended my place in court, where the trial of Burr proceeded on the misdemeanor, Hay having presented from Jefferson a mutilated copy of Wilkinson's letter, out of which Jefferson has reserved all the parts alleged to be confidential, in disregard of the opinion of the Court rejecting the special return to the subpœna aleady offered to that effect by Hay. How far the Court will accept from Jefferson, what it has refused from Hay, will not appear until the fate of six points, made by Botts to-day, to arrest all further evidence in this case similar

to what was done in the treason case, shall be determined. The arguments on this motion will not probably be closed before the end of the week. I had, this evening, a pretty long *tête a tête* with Burr, during which General Dayton was sequestered in another room. This old sly-boots, or Burr, who is often closeted with him, did not mention a hint of my seeing him, though Burr had the candor to tell me, when I was taking leave, he would return to General Dayton in the next room; so that both were equally conscious I should despise the introduction. Our conversation turned altogether on the subject of my involvment in pecuniary claims upon him, in which I represented distinctly, and with firmness, that I should expect indemnity from him for every loss I might incur by his paper or my disbursements for him, specifying to him, at the same time, many instances in which my property on the Ohio had already been sacrificed on those accounts, and adding, that I particularly held Alston answerable to me for any bills, with the charges upon them, which I might have indorsed beyond the amount of Alston's guarantee to me by letter, unless Burr would settle such claims. He assured me he would adjust all such demands, whenever he can be freed from the present prosecutions, and can have reasonable time to collect his resources; until when, he expressed a desire that I should employ Jacob Burnet, now here, to procure as much procrastination of execution on Miller's attachment as he can, Alston having got Nicholas and Luckett to accept of his paper for their demands to the amount of $12,500, with charges. I will have one more consultation with Burr before I make my first demand upon

Alston for the balance of his guarantee by letter, which will be $2,500, at least. When that is disposed of, I shall meditate upon other demands, on his verbal guarantee to me. 10 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1807.

I have, this morning, conferred with J. Burnet, who tells me Miller may be delayed in effecting sales against me in Ohio for twelve months to come. I have also engaged him to act as my attorney in Ohio Federal Court, against old Woodbridge. The Court heard Botts and Martin argue further on Botts's motion, and adjourned early, on account of the absence and indisposition of some of the other counsel. I then enjoyed a further repast, prepared for me by my beloved wife, which had been withheld, I know not how long, from me. It was the letters she had addressed to me at Marietta, with others inclosed in them, to the amount of nine dollars postage. These being without dates, I knew they must be old. The profiles they inclosed of my dear boys were morsels of such exquisite and uncloying flavor, that they have developed within me sensations of delight I did not know I possessed. How many parts of all the lines and curves of these dear heads I shall scan and reflect upon, in many a precious reverie, it is given to few besides myself to care or comprehend. But did I truly know my patience had obtained for me any particular blessing, among the many I derive alone from a beneficent Providence, then how much better should I know the pre-eminent value of that blessing, and study the holy tenure by which I could preserve it. I will never dare to

ask, but will receive from Divine dispensation, in this sense, its permission of the health and comfort of my little family, which I yet know not, but beseech Almighty God to teach me how I may deserve it. I went this evening to the Harmonic Society, at which I could not assist for want of my spectacles. The vice-president requested I would consider myself an honorary member while in town. The flutes are good, with four moderately good violins, two tenors, two bass players, one tolerably good and three excellent singers, who performed some charming trios of Doctor Calcott's, new to me, and composed for some affecting extracts from Ossian. The instrumental music was all old, and known to me. I passed a pleasant evening, and came away at 12. Next Thursday I shall take a part.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1807.

Saw Burnet again this morning, and showed him Alston's letter of guarantee, which I assigned to Sanders, and is now returned to me, by his agent Nicholas, with the latter's receipt indorsed upon it for Alston's paper, which he has taken in satisfaction of his principal's demand. I have written to Lewis, to state this settlement, and hope it will restore my credit with his house, from whence I have requested a remittance of $200, as I am in debt and without funds. Court, to-day, was occupied with further arguments on Botts's points. I heard Wirt for the first time. He is a handsome speaker, but faulty in his figures, rather through defect of study than genius. Edmond Randolph followed on the other side; he has suffered a depression, in manner and

matter, of fully one-half, since I saw him display here in 1800.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1807.

Randolph finished his argument this morning, and was as labored, inanimate and uninteresting as on yesterday. He advanced nothing new, except an objection to the indictments not setting forth with sufficient certainty that the expedition was carried on from the United States, pursuant to the manner in which the offense is described in the statute; as he insisted, in the present indictment, the words "from thence" referred to the Island, and not to the United States. The point seemed to me a good one, and the Chief Justice took a note of it. Martin followed for two hours, and was, besides being clear in his positions, though, as usual, totally regardless of arrangement, less cumbrous than in common with his verbiage. But Wickham, who closed on that side, exhibited a masterpiece of strong, condensed argumentation, followed with a severe, but measured philippic on the motives, ignorance and misconduct of the prosecutors. This occasioned such agitation to Hay, who was alone hardy enough, of the three on that side, to withstand the impression, that he declared his feelings ought not to be trusted with the duty imposed on him, to offer remarks on expressions so unprovoked and unmerited, which Mr. Wickham would *retract*. He therefore requested to be heard on Monday; the Court then immediately adjourned. But I trust the Judge will not allow Hay to prove what he can alone do; namely, *Tutius est igitur fictis contendere verbis quam pugnare manu.* I have

this evening progressed with letters to A. Martin, so long delayed. (See notes of the 29th ult.) Should I ever succeed to the large estates which Martin supposes now awaits me, who would imagine, that did not know my indifference to wealth, I should be so careless of it.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1807.

I was this morning informed by Mr. Walton, a gentleman had arrived in town last night from the country, who had come a considerable distance to see me, and would call at 9 o'clock. I therefore staid within to receive him—certain it must be either Mr. Hendren or O'Hennessy—and was called upon to the minute, when a stranger appeared somewhat agitated. I inquired whether it was Mr. O'Hennessy I had the pleasure to receive, and being answered in the affirmative, I invited him up stairs. This man, I soon found, who had seen me only once or twice in Kerry, when I was one of the counsel attending John Crosbie's election, I believe, in 1793, who had never spoken a word to me in his life until this day, has suffered many a sleepless night through his anxiety for me under the present prosecutions, and the first moment he learned he could have a chance of seeing me, he set out and rode 105 miles for the purpose. This is not all; he intreats me to suffer him to follow me to any indefinite distance, declaring he regards it as the first object of his heart to settle near me. He has no capital; but, as a schoolmaster and a skillful dealer in horses, can command the means of a comfortable livelihood any where in America. At Natchez he can soon get rich. He will, therefore, accompany me with a Mr. O'Connor, a mathe-

matician, who will follow his fortune, so that I have secured a good tuition for my boys in the dead languages, English, and the elementary branches of the sciences, until a prospect of bettter means for their advancement may be more clearly opened in Europe—the only contingency that can draw me from the Mississippi. O'Hennessy has besought me to command a fine horse, and what money he can raise. The latter I have thankfully declined. I visited Burr this morning; he is as gay as usual, and as busy in speculations on reorganizing his projects for action as if he had never suffered the least interruption. He observed to Major Smith and me, that in six months our schemes could be all remounted; that we could now new-model them in a better mould than formerly, having a clearer view of the ground, and a more perfect knowledge of our men. We were silent, feeling the full force of his last remark on men; which, however, we did not fail, I believe, duly to apply both to him and ourselves. It should yet be granted, that if Burr possessed sensibilities of the right sort, with one-hundredth part of the energies for which, with many, he has obtained such ill-grounded credit, his first and last determination, with the morning and the night, should be the destruction of those enemies who have so long and so cruelly wreaked their malicious vengeance upon him. But time will prove him as incapable in all his future efforts as he has been in the past. Honest Hennessy dined and spent the evening with me.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1807.

Major Smith, soon after breakfast, brought me a letter

from the office, from my wife, dated the 11th ult. This letter, too, has announced to me, through the favor of a preserving Providence, the good health of my wife and boys, up to that date. I dare not, then, indulge a wish to lament the grief occasioned her by my arrest in Lexington, and the anguish that has festered in her breast from her reflections on the severity of my confinement in the *Dog-days*. To-day, the Chief Justice has delivered an able, full, and luminous opinion as ever did honor to a judge, which has put an end to the present prosecution. But I have no doubt the prosecuting counsel will show their ignorance and malevolence by carping at it as they did at the other in the treason case. The jury must to-morrow deliver a verdict of acquittal—Hay, in the mean time, having prayed the Court to adjourn, to give time to study the opinion, and thereby shape his future course. But in this he could not avoid showing his petulance, by pretending the prosecutors should exclusively be accommodated with the opinion, *which* he would not say, when he would return to the other side. An application, however, from Botts, to have it left with the clerk for the benefit of both parties, corrected this insolence, under which Mr. Hay sunk as usual. O'Hennessy could not leave town to-day until he heard the opinion, and saw Burr, to whom I introduced him in court. He was highly delighted with both, and again visited me after dinner, and will return to Amherst county to-morrow—I mean as far toward it, of his 105 miles, as he can. I have this evening progressed further in my letter to A. Martin.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1807.

Saw Burnet, this morning, who tells me he has given such information to D. Woodbridge as will probably induce him to become bail to the attachment against me at suit of Miller, by which I hope to procure time enough for Burr or Alston to settle that demand, and exonerate my property at Marietta from it. The prosecutors, still true to evil purposes and malicious designs, attempted today to get rid of the prosecution against Burr by a *nolle prosequi*. This produced an argument, in which they were overthrown, having nothing to rely upon on their side but *a dictum* in Foster's Treatise on Homicide. The jury were ordered out, and after an insidious attempt, but which failed, with one of them to bring in a special verdict, they returned into court, in half an hour, with a general verdict of acquittal. Hay then said he would tomorrow enter *nolle prosequis* on Smith's and my indictments, and proceed with his motion to the Judge to commit and transmit us all to some other district. All are busy in preparing for this new contest, in which I shall probably personally take a part, from want of instructions in my counsel, absence of witnesses, and other reasons which will appear hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1807.

On opening the court this morning, Hay, after some desultory conversation on both sides of the bar, exhibited a general charge against us in writing, of having levied war against the United States, at Cumberland Island, in Kentucky, at Bayou Pierre, on the Mississippi, or at

some intermediate place. We were all three, that is, Burr, Smith and myself, proposed to be subjected together to the inquiry, leaving it to the Judge to separate and apply to each such evidence of overt acts as the testimony might disclose. The Judge acquiesced in this proposition of Hay's, and one James McDowel was called, who proved nothing more at Cumberland than that Burr formed there a circle, and said, "he would not tell his secrets at that place." There are, however, a dozen other witnesses on the ground here who were at Cumberland at that time, and will swear that nothing of the sort took place there. Hay then attempted to examine as to facts in the Mississippi Territory, which called up, after some conversation, an argument on four points made by Botts; namely, want of power in the Judge to transmit, under the judicial act; right of Burr to a bar by two acquittals here; his discharge by a grand jury already in Mississippi Territory; and all his acts taken together constituting but one offense, for which he has already been tried and acquitted, within a district which the prosecutors have selected out of the whole for the purpose. Botts was very able and perspicuous in opening the argument, which Burr very neatly summed up and condensed, before the Court adjourned, about half-past 3. I had no opportunity that presented the least necessity for my rising, and think that will probably be the case until the motion for our recommitment is disposed of and defeated altogether. I was glad to find that Burr had at *last* thought of asking us to dine with him, as I was rather curious again to see him shine in a *partie quarrie*, consisting of new characters. We, therefore, walked

with him from court, Luther Martin, who lives with him, accompanying us. We found but one other face that was strange to us, and a foreigner, who, I hoped, might turn out to be Bollman. Martin, by the way, told me, "he thanked his God he should not now labor under the lock-jaw, which had hitherto restrained him before Democratic juries. He should now be no longer tongue-tied." Our foreigner was very taciturn and reserved, and turned out to be a cousin of Judge Prevost's, and of the same name. The dinner was neat, and followed by three or four kinds of wine—splendid poverty! During the chit-chat after the cloth was removed, a letter was handed to Burr, next to whom I sat. I immediately smelt musk. Burr broke the seal, put the cover to his nose, and then handed it to me, saying, "This amounts to a disclosure." I smelt the paper, and said, "indeed I think so." His whole physiognomy now assumed an alteration and vivacity that, to a stranger who had never seen him before, would have sunk full fifteen years of his age. "This," said he, "reminds me of a detection once very neatly practiced upon me in New York. One day a lady stepped into my library while I was reading, came softly behind my chair, and giving me a slap on the cheek, said, 'Come, tell me directly what little French girl, pray, have you had here?' The abruptness of the question and surprise left me little reason to doubt the discovery had been completely made; so I thought it best to confess the whole fact, upon which the inquisitress burst out into a loud laugh on the success of her artifice, which she was led to play off upon me, from the mere circumstance of having smelt musk in the room." We

all applauded this anecdote as it deserved; but I have given it a place here only to convey an idea of that temperament and address which enabled this character on certain occasions, like the snake, to cast his slough, and, through age and debauchery, seem to uphold his ascendancy over the sex. After some time, Martin and Prevost withdrew, and we passed to the topics of our late *adventures* on the Mississippi, on which Burr said little, but declared he did not know of any reason to blame Jackson, of Tennessee, for any thing he had done or omitted. He has not heard of J.'s letter to Claiborne, which Watkins talked so much about in the executive council at Orleans, on the question respecting the legislative memorial to Government. Such a general may well continue to sacrifice to Venus, rather than to Mars; but he declares he will not lose a day after the favorable issue of the present contest at the capitol, of which he has no doubt to devote his entire attention to settling up his projects, which have only been suspended on a better model; in which work, he says, he has even here already made some progress. Martin presented Smith and myself each with his portrait, tolerably engraved, as he had long since promised. I intend to have it neatly framed by Prichard.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1807.

This morning, the Court heard a continuation of the arguments on both sides, which lasted until 5 o'clock this evening, when Randolph begged the Judge to indulge him with about an hour's hearing to-morrow morning, promising that he would show, under the Constitution

and the spirit and genius of the laws of their country, that the Court could not comply with Hay's present motion, to have us again committed and transmitted to another district. Of the success of such an attempt I can see no prospect, even if the Judge should be of opinion, contrary to what has been so ably contended by Burr's counsel, that the Court has a power to commit under the judicial act; as a total failure of evidence to prove any overt act upon us must undermine the motion. I spent the evening at the Harmonic Society, where I took a part in a symphony and a quartette by Pleyel, but with less effect than if I had been provided with my own spectacles. I had the pleasure of meeting there Neville, Spence and other visitors; besides hearing several good glees, in some of which a Miss Coniers took the upper part. She is a very pretty girl, and is said by Neville to be accomplished. The society broke up, however, early—the music not producing the best effect, from the state of the weather, and the room being too much crowded. I found an old letter in the Post-office, announcing protest of the bill held some time since by Luckett, with my indorsement for $2,500, so that every thing that little shopkeeper had told me of no proceedings having ever been taken against me, as an indorser, was utterly false. I was called upon this evening by David Meade, who seriously assured me that vicious partisan, Scot, the Marshal, had been trying to make a bargain with him to undertake the office of a Deputy, for the purpose of reconducting us to Kentucky, anticipating the success of the present motion, though Hay has certainly said out of court, this evening, he does not expect he shall succeed.

Such are the tricks of these jugglers, in and out of court. Midnight.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1807.

Randolph kept his promise this morning, so far as making out his hour, but did little more service, having offered nothing new, except one argument to show that where a man had been charged for the same murder in different States, the law arising upon his acquittal in the first was different from what it would be on an acquittal of an overt act of the same treason in the first district, where the offender was tried. Then the Judge delivered his opinion, condensing the four points made by Botts within the observations he made on two of them; namely, power of the Court under the Constitution and the laws of the United States, to arrest and transmit to a *Territory*, which he decided in the negative; and the effect of Burr's acquittal, which, he hoped, it would not be necessary for him to decide upon, as he should prefer a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States. It followed, as he laid it down from this adjudication, that the prosecutors might adduce any evidence in their power to prove any overt acts against us, Burr included, committed any where in the United States, to authorize him to transmit us to any district thereof. But, does it not thence follow, that a persecuting and vindictive Government may order its attorney to harrass an obnoxious, but innocent, victim of its wrath, by playing off the farce of a prosecution against him, in a district of its own selection, without effect, and afterward ruin him, by dragging him through every other district in the Union? What

better answer can be given to this supposition than saying such a case is rendered improbable, by supposing no government will be wicked enough to contrive such a villainy? But this is begging the question. I have here put a case, which has not been supposed at the bar; but, with very little alteration, it is our own case. How long is it since the prosecutors began to digest all the information it collected by the most illicit means, from the most foul sources, not of our acts, but of our designs, before we committed any acts? Did they not order prosecutions fifteen hundred miles from the present? Did they not make two selections of their ground, besides an attempt at a third, by Graham, their agent, or at his instance as a spy and informer, in the State of Ohio, which was only avoided by my flight, and after having failed in all of proof, do they not now seek to drag us back again to the same district where they have already miscarried and failed in every thing, but the success of the plunder and outrage committed on my family and property, by informers and personal enemies—the dregs of all the human society—in my absence, when I had incurred no forfeiture?

The Judge having further declared the prosecutors might now proceed with their evidence, they called up James McDowel, who swore to some unimportant statements, which, if necessary, we can disprove by a dozen witnesses. But they attempted repeatedly to go into evidence, not only of alleged facts, but even of declarations of third persons, to prove overt acts and designs within the United States; and the Judge, for reasons I can not imagine, seemed disposed to countenance the pro-

ceeding, which is certainly in direct hostility with his own opinion this day delivered; unless as a *committing* magistrate, he thinks he ought to indulge a greater latitude of investigation than he would permit on a trial. But to-morrow's proceedings will further elucidate these matters. 10 o'clock, P. M.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1807.

Strickland called upon me before the sitting of the Court this morning, to say he should in two hours set off for Natchez. I wrote a short letter to Harding, to give him some account of my situation, and tell him I hoped the *present* demands of the Government on our persons would be satisfied on Monday; after which, I hoped to be at Marietta in fifteen or sixteen days, whence I should proceed to Natchez as speedily as my affairs would permit. But I since regret to find, from the complexion of affairs in court to-day, that our detention may yet extend even to a month, unless our counsel shall succeed, in efforts they will not cease to make, to confine the prosecutors within the limits of the established rules of evidence, and the adjudications already pronounced by the Court; for this whole day was spent in arguments and altercations in violation of both. This was chiefly occasioned by the prosecutors persisting in the conduct they pursued yesterday, which produced a corresponding opposition, which I lamented to see the Judge not only permit, but in some degree participate in; for instance, Dunbaugh was allowed to-day to testify to facts at and below Bayou Pierre, while two or three witnesses yesterday were always stopped, with the concurrence of

the Court, as often as they attempted to speak of any thing without the lines of the United States. How this is reconcilable with the opinion of the Court, I have yet to learn. Altercations on points already settled, or on a series of topics, where the contest is a logomachy, have always a narcotic influence on me. Nor could any sense of the interest I had in the consequences, or any stimulus the ingenuity of Wickham or Botts could apply to all the intensity of my admiration of their talents, prevent my passing the day in a sort of doze? Burr, I observed, seemed so irritated with the Judge's apparent inconsistency with himself, that he would not trust himself to rise to sum up and condense the forces displayed by his counsel, into compact columns, after the engagement, toward the close of the day, as is generally his practice. He has no fear of the final result, but feels what a mortifying check he has received.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1807.

I proposed this morning to devote the entire day to writing, my attendance in court through the week totally preventing almost the whole of the labor demanded of my pen. But a solicitude to confer separately with Burr and Mercer, on the course indulged to the prosecutors by the Court the last two days, forced me to go in quest of those so oppositely interesting characters: and the debts yet unpaid, that laid so heavy a burden on my reflections, which I wanted to discharge to Mrs. Gamble, Mrs. Chevalier and Col. de Pestre, who had long been confined with the influenza, hurried me out of doors immediately after breakfast. I found Burr, just after a consultation with

his counsel, secretly writhing under much irritation at the conduct of the Judge, but affecting an air of contempt for his alleged inconsistency, as he asserted His Honor did not for two days understand either the questions or himself; had wavered in his opinions before yesterday's adjournment, and should in future be put right by strong language, I am afraid to say abuse, though I think I could swear he used that word, on the part of the defense. I observed, that though I believed the Judge's the purest of all human hearts, I could not, in my best judgment, reconcile the latitude he permitted the prosecutors, either with the letter or spirit of his last opinion delivered on Friday. Burr replied nothing to my offer of tribute to the Judge's heart, but said his—Burr's—opinion should draw him back from his deviations from it, and he would hang him, not so facetiously, indeed, as Eaton swore he would hang Miranda, but upon every comma of his opinion. He then inquired where Mercer was, and expressed a strong desire to know his thoughts on the Judge's late conduct. I answered, "that I had come out chiefly to gratify the same desire, and should go directly to seek Mercer." I left Smith with him, and took leave. I bent my way to Mr. Chevalier's, to see De Pestre, whom I found at home. Mrs. Chevalier received me very kindly, and prevailed on her husband, who was confined to his room, to come down stairs to see me, and beg of me to partake of a family dinner with them, which I accepted. After an hour's conversation, I then made a visit to Mrs. Gamble, who seems a most amiable old lady, and so fraught with the generous humanity characteristic of her sex, as to suffer not the connections

of her daughters, Mrs. Cabell, the Governor's wife, and Mrs. Wirt, to prevent her expressing not merely a concern for the general hardships we have suffered, but even to censure the last two days' proceedings in court. I was not fortunate enough to find Mercer before I returned to Chevalier's to dinner, where I spent a pleasant evening, save so far as Mr. Chevalier was not of our company, being confined to his bed. Mrs. C. is as lively and agreeable as it is possible for any woman to be with limited endowments and without beauty. I had an hour's interesting conversation by means of a walk before tea with De Pestre in the garden, which, however, touched on no new matters, except his informing me that Mrs. Alston had expressed to him a wish that he would engage in nothing before next spring that might prevent her father from having an opportunity of forming another connection with him, conveying an intimation which he avoided as delicately as he could. We again harmonized in reprobation of Alston, in every point of view, when I hinted to the Colonel some expectations and reasons I entertained for urging Burr or Alston to give me an obligation, if they can't raise money, for the amount of my losses by them, yet unsatisfied, which he approved of. He will spend some time with me to-morrow evening, when we will prosecute our thoughts.

I visited Mr. C. in his bedroom, after tea, for awhile, and on my return home, I learned from Smith, a confirmation of what De Pestre had already mentioned to me, that Burr sets off immediately for England, after his liberation from the present motion before the Court, to collect money for reorganizing his projects, which I now have

ascertained to be as baseless as the interests of the parties or persons to whom he discloses them are opposed or variant. For he assures his creditors here—at least he has done so to Smith—that when he raises money in England, he will not be *strict* in questioning demands upon him in this country, which he will fully discharge. In London, no doubt, he will pledge himself to appropriate every guinea they will advance him to the promotion of such operations on this continent as will best serve the interests of Britain; and if he had not already exposed his duplicity and incapacity in his favorite art of intrigue to Yrujo, he would *again* as readily promise to advance, with Spanish dollars and Spanish arms, the fortunes of the Spanish minister and his master. But is it not a little strange that he should have never dropped even a hint to me of his projected trip to England. I have had more of his confidence than either Smith or De Pestre; for he has insinuated to me that the former was not disposed to fight on the Mississippi, when I thought he had the disposition not to do so himself; and he has, during our embarrassments on that river, through Wilkinson, spoken, in the presence of Major Smith, myself, and others, of the probability of De Pestre's being hanged, through failure of an enterprise he had sent him on, as an event which he treated with the utmost indifference. Surely I may repeat, that whatever feeling this man possesses, is confined within the sensuality of his temperament; if indeed his conduct, in the eyes of all who really know him, does not warrant the suspicion of Cowles Meade, and fully prove, while the whole bar as little knew him as Col. Swartwout, whose attachment is still

unshaken, that there is at best but method in his madness.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1807.

Dunbaugh was reproduced to-day, with no other effect than to contradict himself, by saying Burr communicated to him in secret his having been betrayed by Wilkinson, though he swore, on Saturday, Burr imparted to him no secrets. The Judge has noted enough in this witness to destroy all credit in his testimony. The day passed in the examination of other witnesses called by prosecutors, whose evidence was altogether favorable to us, though I was mortified to see the Judge, considering himself as an examining magistrate, open so wide the door to the wanton discretion of the prosecutors, as to allow them to offer testimony of any sort, which they alleged to be explanatory of the so-called overt acts on Cumberland Island, at which place, it is confessed, the assemblage, at most, was doubtful or equivocal in its character. I can not comprehend the distinction taken by the Court between admissible and operative evidence; nor do any of the bar here, I believe, perceive how evidence that can not operate upon the subject be admissible. It seems to me, that perhaps the Judge has at last thought it necessary to sacrifice a little to public prejudice, when the concession can not cause any serious consequences in the issue of this strange contest. This evening De Pestre spent an hour with me, which was passed in a more dilated view of his past concerns with Burr. He gave me a description of the manners and character of Yrujo, who is reconfirmed in his embassy to this country, in spite of all the efforts of this Government for his removal. This minister is,

according to De Pestre's portrait of him, a shrewd politician, who pierced the cobweb tissues of Burr's intrigues with him at a single glance. Though he assured De Pestre, who was charged in Kentucky, last October, with a special mission to him, that had Burr opened his designs with frankness, and really projected a severance of the Union, and nothing hostile to the Spanish provinces, he, Burr, might have had an easy resort to the Spanish treasury and its arsenals, while his confidence would have been safe, lodged in the honor of a *Spanish nobleman*. But Yrujo laughed at the awkwardness with which Burr endeavored to mask his designs on Mexico, and expressed his concern for De Pestre's having lost his time in such a service. But Burr, if he had capacity or money for reanimating his projects, has lost a season never to be recalled. He might, last winter, have had the whole equipage of two French ships of war, who offered to bring their small arms with them into his services. If he had not talents, or spirits to use them, he is where he should be.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1807.

A variety of witnesses, examined to-day by the prosecutors, seem to me to advance their cause but little, though their newspapers pretend they throw great light on the mysterious proceedings of Burr. But his mysteriousness is surely an impenetrable shield to cover his treasonable designs, if he had any. I have seen a complete file of all the depositions made before the grand jury in Burr's possession. It must be confessed that few other men in his circumstances could have procured these documents out

of the custody of offices filled by his inveterate enemies. I have long been at a loss to imagine the means he used, of which I am not yet fully informed. But I have learned accidentally that Skelton Jones has become friendly to him. This Jones, a noted duelist, the brother of the late Reviewer, and he who formerly conducted the *Examiner*, an influential Democrat, I am told, received a letter some time since from Burr, covering a bank-note, without specifying for what purpose the money was sent. Jones returned it, with civil remonstrance, which gave Burr an opportunity of requesting an interview, which, if it did not succeed in removing the easy scruples of this honorable patriot, has, however, since that event, completely attached Mr. J.'s interest, as I have learned from a Mr. Braxton, a young lawyer here of some talents. Burr has again asserted to-day, in court, that he expects, by the mail, documents to enable him to show that Eaton must be an incompetent witness in any court. This, if established, will give the *coup de grace* to the fame of the Dernean hero, who, I am assured by Robison, has sworn the peace against a Mr. Smith, of Petersburgh, who threatened to kick this General out of the room; and yet he appears every day in court, affecting by his looks an air of defiance. Wilkinson also exhibits his boasted arrogance, sometimes in the same place. But his examination can not come on for some days. When it takes place, it must be of the highest interest in the eyes of those who, knowing his character and the insidiously artful deposition he has made before the grand jury, will contemplate a spectacle of depravity seldom equaled; while such a summons to the address, I will not yet add the firmness of

Burr, will leave no nerve untouched. But *I* may venture to predict that Burr will sink under it. For, apart from the merits or demerits of either, there are reasons why it should be so in this country, if not in any other upon earth, which I will unfold at large hereafter. I find by D. Woodbridge, many people have died at Marietta, within two months past, of a malignant disease prevailing there. Did God's mercy place us elsewhere? Midnight.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1807.

It chiefly engaged my attention in court to-day to hear Burr contend, that conversations by me with others, respecting him while he was absent, and prior to the period of any alleged acts, should not affect him. This attempt was made to obviate the effect he apprehended from the testimony of the Hendersons; but the Judge was pleased to overrule it. Woodbridge has expressed some wish to be discharged, and return with Belknap to Marietta, but assures me he will still wait until the whole affair is finished, or while he can be of any service to me. I have begged he may not, observing, his being my bail need not detain him; and have told him, at the same time, to take no trouble on my account, etc. He seems satisfied, as I have informed him of the fact of General Dayton having gone to Ohio, though not discharged from his recognizance.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1807.

This morning I was treated to the narrative of Sandy Henderson, which is considered to bear more particularly on me than any other testimony. I had projected a long

cross-examination of him, which I should have pursued with good effect, but our counsel feared it might operate quite contrary to my expectations from the uniform experience they have, that within these virtuous States, when once witnesses determine to swear for a purpose, all attempts to involve them in inconsistency only tend to render them more desperate. I therefore agreed to postpone my cross-examination until the next day, that I might, in the mean time, confer with Mr. Wickham on the subject, as he feared, I suppose, that something might break out injurious to Burr, through my pressing Henderson; and Mr. Botts, from his connection with that family, wished to be excused from taking any part in this examination. I had here another check, from the obligations Mr. Botts has already imposed upon me. But I assured him I had discovered his connection too late to prevent his having been concerned for me. It was yesterday I should have mentioned as having seen Henderson first called, and in consequence of the difficulties affecting Wickham on account of Burr, and myself on account of Botts, I last night drew up a series of interrogatories, which I wished Henderson to answer upon affidavit by consent, with which I called upon Wickham in the evening. He also conferred with Burr upon them; all approved of the questions, but still feared the effect of them, from the apprehended hostility of the witness; so that we concluded on one only of them, which we put to him this morning in court; namely, "whether, at the time of my alleged communications to him, he did not, and doth not yet, entertain a strong prejudice against Col. Burr?" which he answered in the affirmative. I met this even-

ing with an introduction, at the Harmonic Society, to a very handsome woman, a Mrs. Meyio, who has been too many years a widow, though I hear she is soon to be married. I mention her as being the niece of the amiable and highly esteemed Mrs. Carrington, whom I have not yet visited to thank her for her generous offer, more than once made through Mercer, to send me refreshments to the Penitentiary. I took a part in a quartette of Haydn's, and in a glee, and returned home after midnight.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1807.

Yesterday, John Henderson gave his testimony to the same effect Sandy had done, and underwent little or no examination. John Graham also delivered his to the same purport with that he gave against me, before Toulmin and Rodney. But, in cross-examining him, I asked him to say "who was to pay the $1,000 for forfeiting his recognizance to appear to prosecute me in the Mississippi Territory:" he applied to the Court to be excused answering this question; denied he had applied to Col. Scott to invite A. Burr to his house to dinner to have him kidnapped, and said, he has got his present office of chief clerk in the Secretary of State's office, lately. To-day, after consultation with our counsel, I agree to waive objections I had offered against reading the "Querist" in print, or Henderson's evidence of my having shown him only a manuscript of a composition by me with such signature. The reading of the fourth number by the prosecutors, with examination of Dana and Gilmore, finished the day.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1807.

To-day, the long-expected examination of Wilkinson came on, after that of Eaton, upon matter and conversations between him and Burr, which had been excluded as improper evidence on the trial-in-chief, but was now thought admissible before the Judge as an examining magistrate. I have taken, I believe, faithful notes of every thing that fell from both of these persons, by which it will appear that Eaton's testimony is indefinite as to any bearing that it should have upon Burr's *designs*, without seeking for those inconsistencies with his former story before the grand jury, and on the trial-in-chief, which Martin, under the signature of "Investigator," is endeavoring to establish in the Virginia Gazette here. The General exhibited the manner of a serjeant under a court-martial, rather than the demeanor of an accusing officer confronted with his culprit. His perplexity and derangement, even upon his direct examination, has placed beyond all doubt "his honor as a soldier, and his fidelity as a citizen." It will appear from the gauntlet he has begun to run, which he will not finish before Monday evening, that he has confessed he altered a duplicate of the original cipher letter for the express purpose of erasing from it an acknowledgment by Burr, of Burr's having received a letter from him, Wilkinson, of the 27th of February; that this was done for the *avowed* purpose of concealing from the Legislature of Orleans a part of that letter, from which that body might *infer* that he was privy to, or concerned in, the projects of Burr; that he substituted other words in the room of the

erasure as a translation of the erased ciphers *afterward*, but at what time he could not recollect; that the translation of the document sent to Government was from this mutilated original; and that he had sworn, by an affidavit he produced himself in court, that such translation *faithfully* rendered the substance of the original. On the other hand, Burr, who was very unwell, preserved a composure, inspired by Wilkinson's self-condemnation, and supported by his indisposition, contrary to the expectations I had formed a few days past. The cross-examination progressed but a little way, and was adjourned until Monday. Yesterday evening, Woodbridge called upon me in the most abrupt manner, to repeat to me what he had before observed on Wednesday evening, that he was very desirous to return home, and hoped I would that evening look out for other bail. But he hardly allowed me time to answer, "that I would, and whether I succeeded or not, I wished him not to stay a moment on my account," before he had the unfeeling ingratitude to add, "that if I did not, he should give me up in the morning." I was accordingly prepared on the opening of the court this morning, to state to the Judge, "that Mr. Woodbridge was about to be discharged; but previous to his leaving town he wished also to be discharged from the recognizance he had entered into on my account, for reasons I did not inquire into; that it thence became necessary I should find other securities, or be recommitted, of which I should prefer the latter, rather than solicit bail in a place where I was almost an utter stranger. But I believe two citizens of this place were voluntarily attending, for the purpose of entering with me into

another recognizance. John Banks and a Mr. A—— then were called forward, and thus ended, I wish I could say my last concern, with the Woodbridge family. Of Dudley, it must not be concealed, that although he is reputed to have given a fair, candid, and to us advantageous testimony, he has not yet told the whole truth—having suppressed my communication to him of our designs being unequivocally against Mexico, which I suppose he kept back, because he embraced and embarked in the plan on the first mention of it to him, though he afterward receded from it, upon his own reflections or the counsels of others.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1807.

While at breakfast, this morning, I received a verbal message from Burr, importing that he wanted to see me. On my arrival soon after at his house, I found him in bed. He informed me he wanted to see me, to know what I would advise him to do in his complaint, observing, he had no confidence in the physicians here. I suggested to him my being of the same opinion, unless I excepted McClung, whom I believed to be a man of some genius, and probably possessing considerable skill in his profession. Burr said he was a creature of rule; and calling again for my opinion, I said I would have some pills made up for him, which he could take for two or three nights. I left him to go to the druggist's, where I had the medicine carefully prepared, which I sent him

* The integrity and respectability of Mr. Woodbridge is undoubted by all who knew him. From a personal acquaintance for some years previous to his death, I am enabled to add, that such was the purity of his character, through a long and useful career, as to stamp with untruthfulness any reflection upon his honor as a man or his veracity as a witness.

about two o'clock, accompanied with a note conveying directions for his diet, and the use of the medicine. I called there again in the evening to see him; but while I was engaged in the parlor with several persons, where Martin was reading to us a heavy manuscript of his next Investigator, I found on going into Burr's bedroom, soon after Martin had done, that he had just taken, instead of my medicine, a dose of laudanum. He said he felt so weak, and was in such want of rest, he thought it best to take an opiate. I told him he must then omit my pills for this night, wished him good rest, and took leave. On my return to the parlor, Baker told me a Mr. Smith, who knew my family in Ireland, and might probably recognize me, solicited him to bring us together. "He should accordingly bring Mr. Smith, with my leave, to my lodgings." I assented, and thanked him. He also acquainted me that Mrs. Broughenbrough, commonly called Brokenberry here, who is regarded as the nearest approximation in this town to a *savante* and *bel-esprit*, has expressed no small solicitude, and has insisted that Hay will enable her to read the "Querist," which is much praised here. Martin boasts of the fourth number, not a little, as a piece of argumentation which the prosecutors had better conceal from the public, while they wish to keep them uninformed on the merits of the question respecting a severance of the Union. Martin has also assured me Judge Tucker, though a violent Democrat, seriously contended at a party, with Judge Marshall, in this town since May last, that any State in the Union is at any time competent to recede from the same, though Marshall strongly opposed this doctrine. I find Robin-

son, the only correct stenographer, who takes exact notes of all the proceedings at the capitol, and is besides a scholar, who understands five or six languages, will give the "Querist" a longer life by incorporating it in his book than it was likely to enjoy in the barren soil of the "Ohio Gazette," where it appeared to bloom but as an humble flower, and trampled under the feet of the *sovereign* people. Baker is a young lawyer, whom Burr employs, more for the benefit of his influence out of doors than from the aid of talents or services in court, where he is only of use through his humor and the freedom with which he lavishes his abuse. I believe he possesses as good a heart as is permitted to a Democrat, and his spirits and popularity are perhaps, in effect, as valuable to Burr as the talents of Wickham or Botts.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1807.

I had, this morning, a long double letter from my adored wife. Its red seal was as welcome to my eyes as the evening star to the mariner after the agitation of a storm. For I had, last week, suffered no small anxiety from the want of a letter. But the seal, notwithstanding its color, and every curve and turn of the letters in the superscription, had long passed under jealous inspection, to undergo every scrutiny from which I could augur the import of the intelligence within, before I would venture to break it open. But I was assured by the seal there was no mortality, at least on the 25th ult., as by the postmark. I trust, then, the heartfelt offerings of thanksgiving I tried to breathe forth to Heaven were borne to Almighty God, before I consulted the contents of the

letter. There I soon saw how industriously my beloved continued to practice the only fraud her pure soul is capable of conceiving—that of endeavoring to hide from me all she feels for me, and has suffered for our dear boys. Her complaint in her chest is mentioned in a way to alarm me, through the vail of disguise she has attempted to throw over it. But the weekly reports she will not fail to see of the criminal proceedings here, will, I trust, lighten much of the anxiety she labors under, which, I know, so much aggravates the affection in her breast. I next find my boys have, both of them, had fevers; and my dear Harman, who has suffered most, was perhaps at the height of his disease, about the period when I last dreamed I had lost him, and has perhaps been spared to us, through the merits of his incomparable mother, which have not been beheld with the less favor of Providence, while I was offering up my prayers, in the Penitentiary, for his preservation. I have, I find, in concluding my notes of the 2d inst., observed, I again dreamt I had lost my Harman. Did my first dream of his irrecoverable injury from a dog typify the disease of which he was to suffer? and did my second dream, which was visited upon me in the Penitentiary, a night or two before I noted it on the 2d inst., come upon me as another vision to announce, perhaps, a relapse he has undergone, since his mother's letter of the 25th ult. was written. These things are only known to the Eternal and All-wise Dispenser of our mortality. But while reason shall continue my only guide to faith, I will yet wonder in mysterious awe of such dreams as these, which my understanding can not scan, while they appal my heart. If I shall be blessed

with the sight of another red seal next Monday, I shall put off a heavy burden of anxiety which now oppresses me. The Court does not sit to-day, on account of Burr's illness. I find he is much worse than yesterday. He says he will take my medicine to-night, and has rejected bleeding, proposed to him by McClung, in which I fully agreed with him that he should not part with his blood, even at a *Joe* a drop. I called upon De Pestre, this morning, at Mr. Chevalier's, where Mr. C. kindly pressed me to dine *en famille*, which I declined, through a desire to write at home and attend a private quartette-party at the Harmonic Society's room this evening. The invitation of Chevalier was given in the most friendly manner, with a reprobation of the restriction imposed on the hospitable dispositions of the families of this town by the effects of a system of *espionage*, which is kept up by Government and its agents to a degree that has generally prevented those attentions we should otherwise receive. This must be the case, as I have not received a visit from any family-man, much less an invitation, since my release from imprisonment, though Mr. Pickett, who lives in the first style here, informed my landlord, Walton, the other day, he means to invite me to his house. So that etiquette seems also to be totally disregarded; and, no doubt, here, as in other countries, a want of better breeding is received by strangers as a proof of inhospitality not merited.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1807.

Burr took my medicine last night as he promised, rested well, and is much better this morning. But he has prudently declined attending court, though he is evi-

dently mortified, he is not able to witness the progress of his recrimination of Wilkinson, conducted by his counsel, in which he is so desirous to take a part, especially as Botts has retired to Fredericksburg, to attend to other professional calls upon him. I perused this morning, at Burr's, some interesting documents, forwarded to him from New Orleans by Ed. Livingston and Alexander, all tending to overtake Wilkinson with a portion of that retributive justice he has so fairly earned. Of these papers, I trust the Chief Justice, in the spirit of that latitude he has so liberally permitted to the prosecutors, will, as an examining magistrate, allow the affidavits of Derbigeny and Mercier to be read, as both go to prove the Brigadier's corruption in having received from Carondelet, in 1796, a *douceur* of $9,000 at Cincinnati, which, added to every thing else that will appear against him, should surely settle his integrity and credit, if not his admissibility as a witness.* On opening of the court, Graham

* John Mercier, jun., of the city of New Orleans, being duly sworn, maketh oath, that he was one of the clerks in the office of the Governor in the time of the Spanish dominion, during a period of nine years, from the year 1792 to the year 1801. That while this deponent was employed in the said office, to-wit, in the years 1795 and 1796, a secret correspondence was carried on in cipher between the said Governor, then the Baron de Carondelet, and some person of note, who then was in the western part of the United States, and, as this deponent believes, on the waters of the Ohio. That this deponent had no certain knowledge of the name of the said person, but that it was a matter of notoriety, among those who were employed in the said office, that the said person was General Wilkinson. That this deponent was intrusted with the care or charge of deciphering some of the letters which were received from the said person, and of copying some of the answers which were made to them by the Governor. That the cipher was understood by means of a small English dictionary; and that so far as this deponent now recollects, the number of the page and the line where the word was in the dictionary was made use of, instead

voluntarily came forward to explain a part of his testimony, and, I know not why, was pleased to declare I had told him at Marietta, "that both Burr and myself perceived the people were not ripe for a severance of the Union; that we should not hurry it, as it would take place from natural causes of itself, and we had no per-

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of the word itself. That this deponent very well recollects that the project treated of in the said correspondence was the dismembering of the Western States and Territories from the Union, but that he is not able to recollect the particulars. And this deponent further swears, that some time toward the end of the year 1795, Mr. Thomas Power, who was employed as the confidential agent of the Spanish Government for this secret negotiation, was intrusted with a sum of nine thousand dollars, or thereabouts, destined for the said person, which sum was delivered to the said Power, in the office of the Governor, in the presence of this deponent. That the said Power set off with it, and, as this deponent believes, with the dispatches which were prepared on that occasion for the said person.

J. MERCIER.

Sworn before me at New Orleans, the 31st August, 1807.

BONAMY, *Justice of the Peace.*

John McDonaugh, jun., being duly sworn, doth depose, that some time in the month of March, in the year 1804, General Wilkinson consulted with this deponent, as a commission merchant, on the probability of sugar or cotton shipped from this country to the Atlantic ports turning to advantage. The advice of this deponent was, to ship sugars in preference; upon which the General requested this deponent to purchase for him sugars to the amount of nine or ten thousand dollars, payable in cash. This deponent, accordingly, purchased for the General, through Messrs. Dusan and Dubourg, brokers, one hundred and seven hogsheads of sugar, and chartered the ship Louisiana, in which the General took his passage, to transport it to New York, the said sugar being shipped on the sole risk and account of the General. That the amount of the said sugar, as invoiced, was eight thousand and forty-five dollars and thirty-five cents; and this deponent gave the General a bill of exchange on New York for one thousand dollars, the sugars not amounting to the sums which the General risked to be invested in them. That the amount of the said two sums, being $9,045 35, was paid to this deponent by the General, in Mexican dollars, and that some of the bags containing the said money were Mexican bags, such as come from Vera Cruz; and this deponent recollects that the said purchase excited at the time much speculation among the American inhabitants of

sonal interest in the event." Then came on the little Brigadier, whose demeanor, to-day, was no doubt as opposite to that arrogance in which he strutted at Orleans, during the reign of his brief authority, as was the carriage of Dionysius at Corinth, compared with his royal port before at Syracuse. But I should not have degraded

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New Orleans, as to the resources of the General which enabled him to pay so large a sum of money in cash; and the Governor himself, some time after the departure of the General, spoke to this deponent upon the subject, appearing to be desirous of ascertaining the amount of the sugars which had been purchased, and the means by which the General had been enabled to pay for them. JOHN MCDONAUGH, JUN.

Sworn before me, this 4th September, 1807, at the city of New Orleans.
JOHN LYND, *Justice of the Peace.*

Peter Derbigeny, of New Orleans, Counselor-at-Law, being sworn on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth, that some time in the year 1796, this deponent being then a resident at New Madrid, on the Mississippi, Mr. Thomas Power, then employed by the Spanish Government on a private agency, went up the Ohio as far as Cincinnati, as this deponent was told, and returned some time afterward to New Madrid, in quest of a sum of money, which was delivered to him by Dr. Thomas Portall, the then commandant of that post. That this deponent was informed by a Spanish officer, on whose veracity he had every reason to depend, that the said money was destined for General Wilkinson, who was in secret correspondence with the Spanish Government. That Mr. Thomas Power, in order to conceal the said money, which was, as far as this deponent can recollect, a sum of nine thousand dollars, or thereabouts, bought from this deponent some barrels of sugar and coffee, in the center of which the said money was packed up in small bags which were made for that purpose in this deponent's family. That after these preparations were gone through, Mr. T. Power set off on his way back to Cincinnati; and that, on said Power's return from thence, this deponent was told that the said money had arrived safe, and had been delivered to General Wilkinson. And this deponent further saith, that shortly after the surrender of Louisiana to the United States, a rumor having circulated that General Wilkinson had shipped in the vessel in which he returned to the Atlantic States a large quantity of sugar, the price of which he had paid him in dollars lately coined, contained in bags not yet unsewed, and such as they are when sent from the Spanish mint, this deponent grew suspicious that it was again money paid by the Spanish treasury to General Wilkinson, and felt it his duty toward

the fortunes of that tyrant by a comparison with this urchin. I continue to take notes of his testimony to his own turpitude, which I shall not transcribe here, as they may be seen among my papers, by my friends. But it is here I should observe, that the address of Wickham, in conducting the cross-examination to-day, was masterly and ingenious, not only in regard to the witness, but to the Administration which so embarrassed Hay, as well as the General, that it would be impossible to say which of them most heartily welcomed a sudden adjournment, in

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the Government, to whom he had of late sworn allegiance, to inform the Governor of this province of the facts to him known concerning the money sent up to General Wilkinson in 1796; that Governor Claiborne then requested this deponent to write to the President of the United States on the subject; that this deponent wrote accordingly to the President of the United States, and delivered his letter into the hands of Gov. Claiborne, after having shown him the contents, which he approved of; and that, as the said letter was not signed, this deponent, by the advice of Gov. Claiborne, mentioned therein to the President that he might know the name of the writer from Gov. Claiborne himself, if he should wish it.

And this deponent further swears, that in the winter of 1804 to 1805, this deponent being then at Washington City, in the capacity of a deputy from the inhabitants of Louisiana to Congress, jointly with Messrs. Dostrehan and Sawis, he was introduced to Col. Burr, then Vice-President of the United States, by General Wilkinson, who strongly recommended to this deponent, and, as he believes, to his colleagues, to cultivate the acquaintance of Col. Burr, whom he used to call "the first gentleman in America;" telling them that he was a man of the most eminent talents, both as a politician and as a military character; and this deponent further swears, that General Wilkinson told him, several times, that Col. Burr, so soon as his Vice-Presidency would be at an end, would go to Louisiana, where he had certain projects; adding, that he was such a man as to succeed in any thing he would undertake, and inviting this deponent to give him all the information in his power respecting that country; which mysterious hints appeared to this deponent very extraordinary, though he could not then understand them. P. DERBIGNY.

Sworn before me, at New Orleans, the 27th of August, 1807.

BONAMY, *Justice of the Peace.*

which Hay hastily sought the only retreat that was left to his confusion. The Judge had hardly risen from the bench, when a general buzz about Wilkinson's embarrassment ran through the crowd, and in five minutes every Democrat in the capitol was expressing his surprise at the effect with which we had so suddenly changed our characters and turned accusers. I sat this evening an hour with Burr. Bollman and Major Smith were the only other persons of the party. Here was an opportunity to confirm my conviction, that neither Burr nor Bollman desired I should have any acquaintance with the latter, for neither solicited nor proposed an introduction. Both, no doubt, have discovered, long since, I am not of a temper to further their intrigues, but they are short-sighted in not perceiving how effectually I can and will assuredly frustrate them. Well! we chatted, nevertheless, on the exclusive topics of our *present* concerns with the Government, among which, it was observed by Burr, "that he should not be surprised if the next 'Inquirer' attributed his absence from court, at this time, to fear of confronting Wilkinson." I remarked, "that such misrepresentation could have no effect, as the "Virginia Gazette" would contradict it. Burr said, "this last paper had no circulation;" and if $300 could be raised immediately, the press of the "Impartial Observer," which has been obliged to stop for want of funds, could be again set to work. The editor was bold and ingenious, passed for "a good Democrat, would represent things right, and print every thing that was required of him." He then asked me, "if I could not raise even $120, with which a beginning could be made? could not I get twenty

subscribers, even to advance $10 each? How sorry he was Tupper and Mercer were gone away. They would readily contribute. Would not I look about," etc. I said, "I knew not a man that would advance a dollar." He seemed surprised that I did not eagerly offer my services as a *runner* to beg for him, and said, "I might look out if I pleased; that is," he added, "if I felt any *interest* in the thing." Now, I'm at a loss to divine the drift of this set upon me. Was it to remind me to smother any rising thoughts within me, to renew my hints to him, of other calls for money? Was it to exhibit me to Bollman in a character he would not appear to impose upon him? I own I am at a loss for a solution. But certainly, however solicitous he may be to revive the impartial observer, he was not indifferent to making use of this occasion for some other purpose. Smith, however, said, "he would look about him;" and I abruptly took leave. Bollman kept silent during the most of the visit. He is engaging in his appearance, but I have yet had no opportunity to catch any lines of his character, which I hope will not hereafter escape me. Swartwout is dispatched to Washington on some secret mission, which is as *mal-apropos*, during Wilkinson's examination, as Burr's disappearance from court. Swartwout, it is said, will be back on Thursday. Eaton has come forward to-day in court, to say the toast* was first

* General Eaton's evidence on the trial went to prove that Burr meditated a dissolution of the Union. Eaton, in order to rid himself of Burr's importunities, proposed the following toast at a dinner given to him (Eaton) at Philadelphia or Georgetown; he could not distinctly recollect which: "The United States—palsy to the brain that should plot to dismember, and leprosy to the hand that will not draw to defend, our Union."

given at a public dinner given to him at Georgetown, which, being in or before December, 1805, contradicts what he before swore to on that subject.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1807.

The court having been only opened to-day for the purpose of adjourning until to-morrow, to accommodate the bar, who are obliged to attend the Court of Chancery, I spent an hour with Burr in miscellaneous conversation, during which Bob. Robison and Smith were present. The arrival in town of Poindexter and Williams, from Natchez, being mentioned, and conjectures offered as to what Poindexter could say as a witness for the Government, Robison observed, "he was inclined to think Col. Burr was fortunate in having made his escape when he did from that country, as, had he delayed it for another day, he would probably have been seized, and have fallen into the hands of Wilkinson." Robison seemed uninformed altogether of the nature of Meade's stipulations with Burr, last January or February, in what was called the *armistice* at Natchez. Burr now entered into a train of statements to show Robison how Meade had violated his engagements on that occasion. If he had made out such a story as he now told in the presence of Smith and myself, where we were not by, it might perhaps pass like other representations which have, I know not in how many instances, been received upon the credit of his word. But that he should tell any one, in our hearing, that Meade pledged his honor to him that our people should all keep their arms, when we know the solicitude

with which he afterward had them all *hid*, and sunk in the river,—and say, he was not taken a prisoner, under guard, to Washington in the Mississippi Territory, from the interview he had, as it was called, with Meade, at Cole's Creek, in pursuance of his forbearing to prefer resistance, which he might have made to a surrender of his person,—it would indeed surpass all credibility, if he had not with the same temerity assured Wickham, the other day in court, "that the Mississippi militia, while ordered out against him, could hardly be kept by *him* from deserting to him by whole companies. What they might have been disposed to do, had he shown himself worthy of their support, is too far removed from what they did to need any attestation from us, or our friends, in that country. But young men, whom I can redeem from future connections with every incapacity but the talents for intrigue, must not be entangled in those snares, so imprudently or so rashly laid for their credulity. Indeed, I am again disposed to call to my aid Cowles Meade's impression last winter, that Burr was at *times* deranged, as the only means of accounting for his occasional rashness in his assertions. Certain I am, he exhibited at that season every derangement but that of avoidable hazard; and as his memory is confessedly strong, he can not now surely rely upon his facts, without a similar, if not a worse, apology. I saw to-day a curious parallel of Burr's character and my own, drawn by Wirt, in his speech, reported in the "Enquirer," on Wickham's motion to arrest the evidence in the treason case. I'll transcribe it hereafter.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1807.

Wilkinson's cross-examination was continued this morning by Wickham, with great ability, and suspended until to-morrow, to give him time he desired for reflection, and further recurrence to his papers, and also to enable Burr to finish it to-morrow, as the latter is not well enough to attend to-day. Then came forward the ingenious Poindexter, who delivered a very petulant and dogmatical testimony, in the course of which he had the effrontery to state the whole affair of the alleged recognizance of Burr taken by old Rodney, in a manner to induce, if he could, a belief that Rodney was perfectly correct; that Burr had forfeited an original recognizance, and that Rodney was one of the best men living; while no *honest* man in the Territory believed a word of the stories that were told there of another recognizance or memorandum for one having been suppressed; he even went so far as to say, he heard, and believed, that Harding had begun to write an original, but got *tired* before he finished it, and it was *thrown under* the table. O! Harding, my estimable friend, may you soon be able to scourge this paltry pettifogger, who further declared, on his oath, that the matter was now before the Supreme Court of the Territory, where the securities would get off, not upon the merits of the case, but because the Judge who bound them had not cognizance of the offense.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1807.

Burr attended to-day in court, and concluded the cross-examination of Wilkinson; after which, Poindexter was

again called for, and was, if possible, a greater curiosity as a witness than he had been yesterday. His parade of his opinion of the jurisdiction of the courts in the Mississippi Territory, his strictures on the presentments by Burr's grand jury there, his justification of his conduct as honorary aid-de-camp and Attorney General, and his insolence to Burr and his counsel, all exhibited him in a light which introduced a character into the piece now performing at the capitol, as novel as it was unexpected. Then succeeded a witness of a very opposite cast, a Mr. Trisley, one of the late grand jury here, who has riveted on Wilkinson's character and credit those fetters Jefferson and himself were so long forging together for the fame and liberty of others. After a close struggle between opposite counsel, Wickham succeeded by his usual address in wresting from the prosecutors a very curious letter by Jefferson to Wilkinson, of the 3d of last January, which I must, if possible, get a copy of. Martin was both yesterday and to-day more in his cups than usual, and though he spared neither his prudence nor his feelings, he was happy in all his hits. 11 o'clock, P. M.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1807.

Wilkinson, though it was thought by many yesterday that his cross-examination was concluded, was, this morning, again further interrogated as to the import of his instructions to Lieutenant Pike, and the nature of his confidential intercourse with Kibby. But nothing could be got out of him as to the former; and, as to any dealing with Kibby, of the sort alluded to in Kibby's published affidavit, he would no more confess it than that he

is said, by the records of scandal, to have had in his youth with General G * * * . He produced two copies of alleged instructions to Pike. These papers, being of his own manufacture, left his adversaries, of course, to content themselves with whatever effect the suspicions arising from their questions might produce in the minds of the auditors, if not of the Judge. But the publication in the "Argus," to-day, of no less than six documents, offered by Wilkinson in the course of his examination, and rejected by the Judge as improper to be given in evidence, will operate a preponderating counterpoise in his favor. Before he withdrew, he appealed to the Court on the attempts that had been made, during his examination, upon his honor and veracity; observing, "that it now would be easy for him to show his whole conduct in its true light, freed from all manner of doubt or suspicion of his motives, if Burr would produce the letter of the 13th of May, alluded to in the ciphered letter, which would enable him to expose other letters from Burr which occasioned that letter." He then declared that Burr's assertion, "that the letter of the 13th of May had been put out of Burr's power into the hands of a third person, with Wilkinson's knowledge," was unfounded, and destitute of all manner of truth; that Burr knew the very reverse was the fact; and with warmth and asperity of language, he again challenged him to produce it. Burr, with an air of dignity and composure which, I think, he borrowed from an opinion that he is not bound to give Wilkinson a meeting out of court, demanded whether this sort of language and such topics were giving testimony;

and then observed, "that the General was there to tell the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, upon his oath, and should reserve other matters for another place." Wilkinson now withdrew; but who can not perceive that, in this scene, the craft of the advocate shrunk from the charge of his enemy. I examined, soon after this, Gates and Jones—the latter of whom fully proved the terms of a parole agreement to go down the river with me last winter—in a manner to defeat every effect the testimony of the Hendersons could possibly produce to my prejudice. I find Burr has a heavy bill against the United States, on account of advances he says he has made to agents employed for summoning his witnesses. How many have undertaken this service for him I know not; some I do know who advanced their own money, in expectation of being refunded by Burr or the United States. But how far Burr will be indemnified for his *advances* in this business may be guessed from the transaction already narrated of the manœuvre, by which he put Ellis, one of his creditors, in cash. (See conclusion to notes of 23d of August.) But Ellis, who was to-day examined, parried some lounges made at him, during his examination on this subject, by saying, "it was a verbal summons he got at Natchez—the proper one was served upon him here." I will now set down here Wirt's parallel of Burr's character and my own. After having stated that Burr was manœuvring to effect his escape from the prosecutions, by having me sacrificed in his stead, he asks, "By what sort of legerdemain is it, that Burr wants to shuffle himself down to the bottom of the pack, and turn me up, princi-

pal traitor?"* He then proceeds as follows: "Who, then, is Aaron Burr—and what the part which he has borne in this transaction?"

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1807.

I called on Burr this morning, when he, at last, mentioned to me, during a short *tête a tête*, that he was preparing to go to England; that the time was now auspicious for him; and he wished to know whether I could give him letters. I answered, "that I supposed when he said England, he meant London, as his business would probably be with people in office; that I knew none of

* Will any man say that Blennerhassett was the principal, and Burr but an accessory? Who will believe that Burr, the author and projector of the plot, who raised the forces, who enlisted the men, and who procured the funds for carrying it into execution, was made a cat's-paw of? Will any man believe that Burr, who is a soldier, bold, ardent, restless, and aspiring, the great actor whose brain conceived, and whose hand brought, the plot into operation, that he should sink down into an accessory, and that Blennerhassett should be elevated into a principal? He would startle at once at the thought. Aaron Burr, the contriver of the whole conspiracy, to every body concerned in it, was as the sun to the planets which surround him. Did he not bind them in their respective orbits, and give them their light, their heat, and their motion? Yet he is to be considered an accessory, and Blennerhassett is to be the principal, who, thus deluded from his interest and his happiness, thus seduced from the paths of innocence and peace, thus confounded in the toils that were deliberately spread for him, and overwhelmed by the mastering spirit and genius of another—this man, thus ruined and undone, and made to play a subordinate part in this grand drama of guilt and treason, this man is to be called the principal offender; while *he*, by whom he was thus plunged in misery, is comparatively innocent, a mere accessory! Is this reason? Is it law? Is it humanity? Sir, neither the human heart nor the human understanding will bear a perversion so monstrous and absurd! so shocking to the soul! so revolting to reason! Let Aaron Burr, then, not shrink from the high destination which he has courted; and having already ruined Blennerhassett in fortune, character, and happiness forever, let him not attempt to finish the tragedy by thrusting that ill-fated man between himself and punishment.—*Extract from W. Wirt's Speech.*

the present ministry, nor did I believe I had a single acquaintance in London." He replied, "he meant to visit every part of the country, and would be glad to get letters to any one." I said, that I would think of it; that I might discover whether I had any friends there, whom it would be an object worth his attention to know, and took leave. Thus it is, this strange man continues to expose his inconsistency with himself, rather than lay aside the mysterious mask, with which he has ever sought, and still continues, to disguise his very hints—a practice, I believe, he has not departed from in any instance, from Wilkinson down to myself. We can only conjecture, therefore, his designs. For my part, I am disposed to suspect he has no serious purpose of reviving any of his speculations in America, or even of returning from Europe, if he can get there. His anxiety to elude his creditors is, I believe, occupation enough for his energies, which are little, except in his reveries. Out of them he tells different stories to different persons, enjoining confidence from all, but committing himself in nothing to any one. I have suspected for some time, however, he really does dream of appearing in London, with something, according to his ideas, in the nature of a *suite*. Some weeks past, he consulted De Pestre, to learn from him how much money would be wanted to enable him to go and return. He said, he supposed that $10,000 might answer. De Pestre told him, that would depend on the nature of his business, and the time it would require to transact it. But he has more lately been engaged in endeavoring to attach to him some young men who may accompany him. I yet only know, positively, two. Sam.

Swartwout was enraptured with the prospect, and still may feast his imagination upon it; though I could not resist the propensity I felt to convey to this fine young man, without his suspecting from whence it came, a curb, which may restrain his generous ardor and innocent credulity. His relation, Major Smith, has endeavored to apply it. Bob. Robison was the other, and, to save him, my breast heaved with indignation against his tempter, while my heart labored for the danger of my young friend, when I found that his *property* was Mr. Burr's object; for Burr, it seems, in the first place, certified himself by inquiries of Major Smith, that Robison's father was *wealthy*, and Robert an *only child*, before he proposed the voyage to him, which I find he had the insolence to introduce by telling him, Smith, Robison would be much pleased to accompany him, as Mr. Blennerhassett had assured him, than which nothing is more false. But Burr is as careless of his facts as of his religion, where neither is exposed to scrutiny; and any liberty with them may advance his purpose for the moment. I had seasonably prepared this young man, who will to-morrow make his escape to Pittsburgh, from the fascinations of this serpent. I was much entertained for two or three hours by the performance on the piano by a young Frenchman, who is a fine performer, and made me acquainted with some new music of Haydn and others, which he executed with masterly skill and expression.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1807.

This day was chiefly consumed with hearing testimony adduced to prove Eaton's incompetency or discredit;

which failed, according to the legal rules of evidence, though Eaton himself has already fully anticipated the object of his adversaries. I am very unhappy in failing to hear from Natchez, to relieve my anxiety for Harman. But why should I presume to pray for the removal of my trouble for him and his mother, when I know how unworthy I have been of the many blessings I have already enjoyed in them. I have ever thought too highly of Dominick, in prejudice to his brother; my late cares for the latter have equalized the account.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1807.

Burr and Martin made a considerable blunder to-day, by producing a Major Brough, to the discredit of Wilkinson, as they thought. The Major, it is true, told some curious stories to the Court and to the General, as unexpected by the Judge, probably, as they were unpalatable to the Brigadier; but the effect only tended to show both equally rivals in treachery to the State, if not to themselves. Burr would gladly have pretermitted the exhibition of this scene, but it was too late; the curtain had risen, and "Peacham" and "Locket" stood confessed in every line of their characters, except a compromise of their differences. But as, in such cases, "honest men come by their own," the public feelings on the Mississippi will necessarily be relieved, by the disclosures of this witness, from the insult and mortification of again seeing Wilkinson command in that country. It is in vain that Wilkinson has promised to destroy the credit of this witness. The Major has brandished his sword with such effect and address, on this occasion, that he has not only

cut down the General, but even disarmed his auxiliaries—Jefferson, Dearborn and Rodney—who have so long fought by his side throughout this criminal warfare. In short, unless this testimony, which, from its effect upon Jefferson, etc., I regard as the most interesting that has occurred, can be totally obliterated from the reports of the present motley proceedings at the capitol, and the Major be absolutely foxed, the execration of the administration will soon be sown on the Mississippi, to produce a crop similar to that which sprung from the teeth of the hydra. I regret the whole narrative will not probably appear in full before Robertson's report of the whole proceedings. This evening, my friend Hendren, who has again come up to town chiefly to see me, has called to express his satisfaction at the near prospect of my restoration to my family, and to solicit my acceptance of a horse he has a long time destined for me, together with whatever money I may have occasion for. He has duly tempered the frankness of these propositions with sentiments of corresponding delicacy. I, alas! have made no better return to this generosity than words that lightened not the burden that he had laid upon my heart, which, I hope, God will give it strength to carry to my grave. How long have I sought, through life, friends without my family; and where have I found any, until the hand of Divine mercy pointed their regards to that piety that has supported the patience of my distress. I have declined Hendren's favors, and quieted his solicitude to serve me, by requesting him to look out for a few negroes I want to purchase. He will see me again next Monday.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1807.

Wilkinson was not ready to-day to undertake his attack upon the credit of Major Brough, but he will attempt it to-morrow. Nothing was done, of any consequence, in court to-day. Soon after it adjourned, I took a letter for my wife to the "Eagle," to go by Col. McKee, who leaves for Natchez to-morrow. I had there the happiness to see Doctor Commins, just arrived. He made me happy, by assuring me my boys were running about on the 25th of August, when he last saw them, and has brought me a packet, which I shall receive in the morning. I find I have omitted to note a very curious discovery made in court last Saturday. Nothing less than letters of McKee's, some of them dated in January and February last, produced by Wilkinson, proving the Col. to have been with us on the Mississippi, far more as a spy than a friend. The capillaries of the Colonel's physiognomy, during the reading of the said letters, were swollen to bursting. The man, I believe, would have hissed upon immersion in cold water. He was struck dumb, and, upon his release, went off in a tangent. Burr can't endure a hint of this incident; and yet he has since been more than once closeted with the Colonel. Can he find no better friends, or is he really deranged?

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1807.

Wilkinson has not kept his promise of to-day, discrediting the testimony of Major Brough. An unimportant witness or two were examined by way of killing time, which now seems to be the favorite object of the

prosecutors. Afterward, Hay at last announced that the evidence was closed on the part of the prosecution, but reserved his right to examine, without restriction, all of those witnesses that may arrive, according to his fancy, which was conceded to him. He then entered upon his speech, to comment on the evidence, which appeared to me the best effort I have yet heard from him; it was perspicuous and somewhat ingenious. I have therefore taken pretty close notes of all such parts of it as appeared to me to be worthy of notice, or particularly applicable to myself. He spoke, however, to empty benches until the rising of the Court, which was, for his accommodation, protracted half an hour longer than usual. A few minutes before he stopped, I was much diverted by a display of his irritability, which was excited by McRae's interrupting him with a whisper to stop at 4 o'clock. Upon this, the attorney fired with indignation, and in his wrath very plainly exhibited his contempt for his coadjutor, by telling him he would not be interrupted by him; and then endeavoring fruitlessly to compose his ire, he lamented the condition of counsel, that could neither agree with those on their own side, or those who were opposed to them. I sent to Doctor Commins, this morning, for the packet he brought me from Natchez, but not having received it, I called upon him this evening, when he delivered it to me in a wretched state, it having been taken from him in the Creek Nation of Indians, by Col. Hawkins, the agent of that tribe, who, after examining my letter-bag, and every original letter my wife had sent me, except *perhaps* two sealed letters from herself, and, after taking such extracts and copies

of the whole as he chose, then returned to Doctor Commins as many as he thought proper. This outrage I shall have formally stated in an affidavit by the Doctor, in order to procure an attachment against the Colonel. I spent a very pleasant evening at the Musical Society, where I met Mrs. Chevalier and Mrs. Wickham. They seemed pleased with some performances, in which I took a part, particularly a quartette of Pleyel's. Mrs. Chevalier gave me some hospitable reproaches for the scarcity of my visits. I believe her husband a most generous and benevolent man, which his countenance fully bespeaks.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1807.

It is a little singular that my birthday should yesterday have passed by without my having noticed it; but this has been the case for several of the last years of my life, and I suppose the reason is, that my mind is hardly occupied once a year in thinking of myself. I may have taken my height and weight, perhaps full twenty times in the course of my life; but I am certain I never remembered, much less noted, the amount of either, so that I could recollect it one hour after trial. Yesterday, then, I completed my forty-second or forty-third year; for my father and mother could never agree whether I was born in 1764 or 1765, though they coincided as to the day, fixing it on the 8th of October. But at such a distance from my suffering family, I can not estimate how much happiness or misery they have been preparing for my future years. Hay finished his speech to-day. He was followed by Randolph, in a style that will read much better than it was delivered. He relied chiefly on the effect of Burr's

acquittal, and arguments drawn from the Constitution. As to me, he seemed to forget my case altogether, save so far as his concern for Burr obliged him to mention my name and writings. This, I suspect, will also be the case with Wickham. *Nous verrons.*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1807.

The Court does not sit to-day, at the request of the prosecutors; yet they are eternally complaining of the tedious length of the trial, and their own confinement and sufferings by it. The accused have no sufferings, it seems, worthy of their notice. I have to-day spent much time in painful reflections on the state of my affairs with Burr. It appears by a statement of my private account with him, so far as I can now collect all my charges against him here, for he has but two credits, he is indebted to me in a balance of $2,864.96, independent of my account against him, for what I have already paid and lost, by my indorsement of the bill held by Miller for $4,000. It will be useless, or worse, for me to attempt to appear at Marietta without a sum of money, if not sufficient to discharge Miller's claim, at least necessary to enable me to get my negroes away from Ohio, if that is now possible, and to redeem some few valuable articles of my property that have been sacrificed at sheriff's sales. I have therefore imagined a method of forcing Burr's exertions to raise money for me, which is the most likely to succeed. It is founded on the principle of effecting through his vanity and interest what it is now evident I should in vain seek through his justice or generosity. I will hint to him my ability to introduce

him into the first circles in England, by introductory letters; at the same time, showing him my expectations of becoming soon possessed of a large fortune in Europe, from which, I doubt not, I shall be enabled to engage his best endeavors, if not his warmest interest. This plan I shall put in execution to-morrow, of which I will note the effect upon him. Leaving it to ripen in his meditations for a week, I shall then open my present distresses to him in detail, and present him with his account. It is a little painful, I own, to feel oneself obliged to bring even a bad man into the path of his duty by artifice. But the details of the manœuvre, when examined, will, I trust, do me no discredit with my friends.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1807.

It being very warm and dusty this morning, I sent to John Banks for a horse to visit his family and Chevalier's, they living two miles apart, and take the benefit of a short ride. But I previously called upon Burr, whom I found alone and in good spirits. He attributed the removal of his indisposition exclusively to the effect of my pills, and his inflamed eye was nearly cured. Daniel Clark and Mr. Powers had arrived from Orleans to support the depositions of Derbigeny and the younger Mercier, to the confirmation of Wilkinson's character and ruin. Availing myself of such a state of things, I entered into desultory conversation affecting all freedom of thought from any particular object. The affair of the Leopard and Chesapeake being mentioned, Burr observed, that though the difference between the United States and Great Britain on that account might be expected to be

soon settled, there were many other causes of dispute which would not soon be removed; that this was a most auspicious moment for his purposes to visit England, and he had no doubt he could, in serving himself and his friends there, show them, the ministry, their best interests in a manner that would convince their judgment. This was the best opportunity I could have desired for *my purpose*. I now told him, as he happened to be alone, I had been reflecting on the application he had lately made to me for letters to England, to assist the better means he no doubt possessed of establishing his intercourse with the best society in that country. I regretted that, through the fluctuations of parties there, I had no acquaintance with any member of the Administration. But I had thought of three noblemen, with whom I had been at school at Westminster, and there intimate with them all, though I had never since met with any of them, except Lord Sackville, who had visited me in Ireland. To Lord S., therefore, I could write, and also to Lords Elgin and Courtenay. The latter I was very intimate with at school; and the former, I presumed, from the circumstance of his having been not long since ambassador at the courts of Petersburgh and Constantinople, must be much respected by the present ministers, if not in office with them. To all these personages, I said, I thought I could properly address a mere letter of introduction, which if it would not of itself produce the end proposed, would not fail to do so when supported by the appearance he would make in London, the address with which he would be as impressive there as here, and the distinguished rank he lately occupied in the American Govern-

ment. The effect of this communication was rapture. The whole man was changed. With all his studied reserve, he could not restrain his transports, which agitated his countenance and his movements far more than the news of a capital prize in the lottery could have done. I now, after pausing a little, to give his reflections time to recover his usual composure, asked if he remembered a hint I had sometime since given him, that I entertained some expectations of hereafter becoming easy in my circumstances, and perhaps wealthy. "Yes," he hastily replied, "very well." I then alluded to a communication by letter from a friend in Ireland, which I would now acquaint him with, and from which I might expect, if my prospects should be realized, possibly to meet him in those circles in Europe, into which I proposed to introduce him; now drawing from my pocket A. Martin's letter of 16th of last May, which luckily contained no other matter than that I wished him to see, and some political news. I presented it to him. He read it deliberately, over and over, and I now beheld myself established in an influence upon his *feelings*, and a consideration from his notice, to which I am persuaded I had never before possessed the least title. Hey-day! behold the wretched and beggared Blennerhassett about to rise out of the misery in which I have plunged him, and his unhappy family, into wealth and consequence. The heir, too, of a nobleman! His new wealth and his dignified connections must supply me with better materials for my projected speculations than all others I have hitherto collected. His connections and his purse shall lay the foundation under which I will *again* bury his credulity and

rear upon it my aggrandizement. I am persuaded all this, and probably much more to the same purpose, entered and pervaded the mind of this arch-financier, with the velocity of light, in an instant. Be it so. Let him outwit himself. He shall have my letters to the British nobleman, and may make his own use of them, if he will first exonerate me from Miller's demand, and pay or secure the balance he owes me before we part. Otherwise, we break upon a *writ*, and for every thing else, I fear not his address in future.

Chevalier, as usual, pressed me to dinner. I have such full confidence in his goodness that I believe I shall venture to request him to indorse or negotiate a bill on Philadelphia for me.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1807.

I am miserable this morning, by being denied a letter from Natchez. The season advances, and witnesses continue to arrive so constantly, that I am filled with apprehensions of being unable to descend the Ohio before the breaking up of that river. Martin commenced his speech on the evidence this morning, and only reached the first full stop at the hour of adjournment. He will probably hold out full two days more.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1807.

Martin kept on his feet again to-day until the adjournment. He has only come to the second period. I had this morning an extremely friendly note from Chevalier, telling me he never lends his name to any body, but has one thousand dollars at my command, which I have ac-

cepted, to send to the sale by Commins. I have spent a pleasant evening at Banks', where I often take Smith with me, as he knows no one here. Banks has given me some lines he made on the late Miss ———, which I will here transcribe, as they deserve preservation:

SWEET SHADE.

Within our hearts, thy mem'ry is embalmed
Beyond the usual gifts that grace thy sex;
Thy various virtues and acquirements shone:
The dignity of worth (like thine) it would
Degrade to blazon each peculiar claim
That marked thy value here; for all who knew
Thee felt its force, and every tongue seemed
Emulous to praise. The young, enraptured,
Hung upon thy name; with equal rev'rence
And grateful love hailed the bright exemplar
That adorned the sex. Pleased with the theme,
The aged matron, too, for this laid by
The frigid caution of maturer years;
With joy exulting, joined the general praise,
And wished, a pious wish, her offspring might
Through life's alluring scenes tread the chaste paths
That marked Eliza's steps.
One kindred trait, that marked thy latest hour,
Unknown to all but to thy weeping friends,
Who clung around the sable couch of Death,
'T were impious not to note. The God who smote
Still blessed thee to the last. Its powers thy mind
Retained; while, conscious of th' approaching call,
Thy steadfast soul still stood serene and firm.
No tumult there, no dread, no terror could
Disturb the heart which purity inspired.
'T was Resignation's calm! Thy closing eyes,
'T is true, a transient tremor felt, and o'er
The fevered cheek a drop let fall. O! 't was

A sacred gem, incalculably rich!
A legacy divine; for others' woes
It fell. 'T was filial sympathy, which, like
A shock electric, struck the palsied nerve,
Impervious but to this. Dim though thy sight,
Yet still thou sawest a parent's
Agonizing pangs; a precious pearl
Thou gav'st; and with the boon expir'd.
Sweet Shade! this tribute is not half thy due.
Alas! too soon we pay the solemn meed;
Yet bear it on thy wing; 't will pleasing prove
A passport to the skies; and when, blest Shade,
Thy sister-spirits, who thy flight await
At Heav'n's portal, shall peruse the scroll,
In strains celestial, not unknown to thee,
They 'll chant the theme divine, until it reach
The Throne of Grace. There, in regal state,
The King of Kings, in all the majesty
Of Heaven arrayed, with sweet solacing smile,
Shall hail thy welcome to the realms above,
While myriads of the just around him sing:
"This the reward of virtuous acts below,
Eternal life and bliss for evermore!"

Wednesday, October 14, 1807.

Martin at last concluded at 4 o'clock, with the adjournment this evening. Want of arrangement, verbosity, and eternal repetitions, have more than sated the malice of his enemies.

Thursday, October 15, 1807.

McRae consumed this whole day with somewhat less discredit to himself than might have been expected. It appears that he is now the only one of the three prosecuting counsel that labors to bolster up the credit and

consistency of Wilkinson. Hay has declared, out of court, "he has washed his hands of him." I had a friendly letter from Devereux, announcing his being about to return to Ireland, where he expects to recover his estate, and assuring me, with much concern for my present sufferings, his actions shall prove his friendship, whenever his means can give it that operation he now so generously laments he can not direct to my succor. He assures me, however, Pierce Butler, Esq., of Philadelphia, has directed him, without solicitation, to invite me to call upon him for any pecuniary aid I may need.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1807.

Wickham followed Martin, instead of McRae, yesterday, and was, I think, far below his former efforts. He occupied the day nearly. It was to-day McRae exhibited, as I have just mentioned, not having had time to write down yesterday's notes till this evening.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1807.

Wirt spoke very much to engage the fancy of his hearers, to-day, without affecting their understanding; for he can not reason upon the facts before him, and can no more conduct a law argument than I could raise a mountain. As Junius says of the king, "The feather that adorns him supports his flight." "Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth." He attempted to be sarcastic on all his opponents. Randolph he charged with a decay of professional and oratorical powers, which keep pace with the march of his years. Martin he upbraided with ill earned and unmerited fame, which had disap-

pointed the expectations of the Virginia bar, before which he had shone through so many moons, but had never yet appeared in any of the phases of the law. I mention this, as a specimen of his efforts in the figurative style, to show how unhappy he is in his researches into those mines of taste and study which the fancy of an orator never explores in vain. Wickham he boldly accused of unadorned plagiarism, in appropriating to himself the arguments of Dallas and Lewis in the case of Fries, and even expressing their ideas with inferior eloquence. I took some notes of this orator's performance, which Wickham was very glad to get, as he was absent during the delivery of what was so pointedly applied to himself. "O that mine enemy would write a book!" Wilkinson is writing one, which, some say, is to ruin not only Burr, but Jefferson too.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1807.

I staid at home until evening, owing to the high wind and dust that annoyed every one who ventured abroad. But I drank tea, and spent the evening until 10 o'clock, at Mrs. Chevalier's. I there met Mrs. David Randolph, who is a middle-aged lady, and very accomplished; of charming manners, and possessing a masculine mind. From this lady, the near relation of the President, and whose brother is married to his daughter, I heard more pungent strictures upon Jefferson's head and heart, because they were better founded than any I had ever heard before, and she certainly uttered more treason than *my wife* ever dreamed of; for she ridiculed the experiment of a Republic in this country, which the vices and inconstancy of parties and the people had too long shown to

be nothing more than annual series of essays to complete a work ill begun, and which appeared to be nearly worn out before it was half finished. But "she always was disgusted with the fairest ideas of a modern Republic, however she might respect those of antiquity." And as for the treason, "she cordially hoped, whenever Burr, or any one else, again attempted to do any thing, the Atlantic States would be comprised in the plan." She talked much of Thomas Moore, with whom she was highly pleased here, and recited some favorite extracts from him; but she is very much mortified by the indiscriminate censure of Virginia, with which he has requited the hospitality and consideration with which he was universally treated in this State—his only two exceptions from his strictures being Wickham and the Chief Justice; but in the former he could discover no accomplishment, beyond professional skill and a slight knowledge of French, with a talent for repartee, and an imagination denied all favors which it would in vain solicit from nature and the sciences. Of the Chief Justice, I can not speak, out of the precincts of the law, or his politics, which I already begin to fear will exhibit his heart, as unlike those of Hardwick or Cambden, as his mind may resemble theirs." I also obtained from this interesting lady some sketches of the characters of General Dayton and Bollman, with both of whom her acute penetration seems to have had sufficient opportunities of informing her judgment. The sentence of my moral craniology on these heads thus presented to me was this, that the one is that of an unprincipled speculator and crafty politician, who never appeals to his reason but to deceive, and never

departs from it but to be sensual. The other is that of an individual possessing similar talents, more highly refined by nature, but less consolidated by experience, with syren faculties of speech and manner, never exerted to captivate, but to destroy their victim, and a temperament of antipathy, rather than of inclination to the sex. I, this morning, closed long letters to A. Martin, for Ireland, after, I believe, full two months' neglect. I have so long been dosed with the incessant vexations of my prosecution, that I sometimes imagine my apathy is better lent me to befit me for the future frowns of unsteady fortune, than to prepare me for the insidious smiles. I am already her puppet.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1807.

Wirt concluded with perhaps a better two hours' display of his powers than he has yet exhibited. Lieutenant Jackson, at last, made his appearance, but fell very short of what the prosecutors expected of him, from the purport of his affidavits, which they have published in the "Argus," and of his own infamy: though he made out enough of treachery and perjury, probably, to swell the current of suspicion against Burr's treasonable designs. Swartwout* has sent Wilkinson a challenge, but without effect.

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* Swartwout sent a challenge to General Wilkinson by Israel Smith, which he (W.) refused to read, saying that "he held no correspondence with traitors or conspirators." This raised Swartwout's ire, and induced him to publish the following in the "Virginia Gazette:"

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON.

SIR:—When once the chain of infamy grapples to a knave, every new link creates a fresh sensation of detestation and horror. As it gradually

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1807.

I have said nothing of my relief, yesterday, by a letter from my beloved, bearing the intelligence of her recovery from a fever. Who would think I was glad to receive this letter! I had been miserable for three weeks in apprehension for Harman. This new calamity has affected me with a kind of lethargy, from which I awake often in surprise, to wonder that we are all four alive, as if life, upon any terms, was unnatural in our present prospects. O, Melancholy! how long wilt thou brood upon me. I have begun a letter to my wife. Sustain her strength, O God, who approvest her virtue, and can best assuage her sufferings. Mr. Marshall, at length, has delivered an

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or precipitately unfolds itself, we behold in each succeeding connection, and arising from the same corrupt and contaminated source, the same base and degenerate conduct. I could not have supposed that you would have completed the catalogue of your crimes by adding to the guilt of *treachery*, *forgery* and *perjury*, the accomplishment of cowardice. But every succeeding day presents you in a new light to the public, and plunges you still deeper in crime and ignominy. Having failed in two different attempts to procure an interview with you, such as no gentleman of honor could refuse, I have only to pronounce and publish you to the world as a coward and poltroon. One word more before I take my leave. This is a critical moment in the life of your Excellency. Your reputation is gone for ever, and your life totters on the verge of dissolution. As you can not pretend to the esteem of any man living, you should have sought a momentary reputation in the applause of even your enemies. *You should have been* brave, and *died like a man.* Your enemies would then have forgotten the wrongs you had done them. Your country would have been appeased, and even *Judas* forgiven. You should have considered that there is some small merit in even a villain's bravery; it was all you were supposed to possess this side of the grave. You should have made much of it; it might have served to wipe away some portion of the stain which your treachery and turpitude have fixed upon your character. S. SWARTWOUT.

Richmond, 21*st October*, 1807.

elaborate opinion, purporting that he can not commit any of us for treason; not because we had none in our hearts, but because we did none with our hands. But the last article has determined him to commit me for trial, to Ohio, for a misdemeanor. Burr is, of course, ordered on this new dance. I shall, however, I fancy, leave the little emperor to exhibit in it alone; for it is now time I should withdraw behind the scenes, even though I should employ Duane to shift them. I shall therefore set out to Philadelphia, first for this object, and next to close my pecuniary affairs with Burr there, which I could not do here. I have given bail for my appearance at Chillicothe, the 4th of January; bondsmen, Smith and Commins.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1807.

Burr is in a sort of keeping at his own house, endeavoring to get all his bail renewed in the civil suits here depending against him. Martin has become his security, I believe, to the amount of $15,000. How much of this he may eventually sink in the purchase of the old staple of experience, he will ascertain in about six months.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1807.

Wrote to my wife a letter to go by Ashley, which I will not close until the moment before I leave this town. It will reach her, and, I trust, tend to support her until I can escape, and then into Florida with her, if necessary, which I am determined to attempt, rather than play a part in a second trial, which would separate me from my family, probably, for not less than a year from hence.

Was I criminal in seeking some little refuge from my trouble this evening at the Musical Society? I met there Mesdames Wickham, Chevalier and the Misses M. I only took a part in one quartette, by particular desire of those ladies. Midnight.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1807.

Breakfasted at Mrs. Chevalier's, where I met a pleasant party. At ten o'clock I rode out to visit Banks, and prescribe for an indisposition with which he is affected. Smith, being finally discharged by the Chief Justice, left me yesterday for New York. I am endeavoring to obtain a lot of negroes, in partnership with Dr. Commins, though I fear we shall not succeed. This evening visited Wickham, to fee him with a few—words. He thinks, in case Government should be disposed to desire my conviction at Chillicothe, Woodbridge's evidence will enable them easily to affect it. Revisited and spent the evening with Banks. He has offered to lend me one hundred dollars, which I shall probably accept, to enable me to return Chevalier's money. I take a horse and gig from Banks, as there is no conveyance from hence, in any public or private carriage, for ten days to come. Burr, Martin, Commins, and myself, with two servants, will probably form a cavalcade to move to-morrow or next day. I must raise money in Philadelphia, on chances, and even strain a point with Commins, there to aid me whatever success I may have with Burr.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1807.

I have been all day too ambulatory to spend a moment

with these notes, before now, 11, P. M. I am just returned from a two-mile walk in the dark, to take leave of the family of my friend, John Banks, who has kindly pressed me to borrow the largest sum, I believe, he could spare. And before I lie down to take two hours' rest, before I am called up to set off in the stage for the Federal city, I must note my having closed a letter I began several days ago to my wife, to go by Ashley, who will commence his journey to-morrow or the next day. My excellent friend Jos. Lewis, I find by letter from him this evening, has removed my fears for my credit and honor, by remitting to Mr. Chevalier $1,000, to replace that sum lately lent me by Mr. C. The house it seems, in Philadelphia, must still suspend my credit, on account of the removal of Sander's attachment. But J. L. will lend his generous friendship to succor that honor of a friend in distress, who is not, I trust, unworthy of the sympathies of his liberal heart. His counsel will soon direct my distracted cares to peace.

WASHINGTON CITY, TUESDAY, OCT. 27, 1807.

Luther Martin has just made his final immersion into the daily bath of his faculties, after a series of apparitions, in all the phases of his accustomed orbit. Whether in a stage-coach, or a tavern, he is indefatigable, under the united stimulus of egotism and benevolence, to harrass the gratitude or tax the patience of his friends. At 3 o'clock, A. M., on Saturday morning, at Richmond, he joined us in the coach, and neither the privation of sleep, nor the fatigue of the journey, have in the least checked his loquacity, or lessened his good humor. He read to

me an able pamphlet, on the subject of Jefferson's rejection of the new British Treaty, while we were jolting and jarring over as bad a road as any country can lament, with more dispatch than I could peruse it in my chair. His strong memory made him interesting all the way, in his anecdotes and stories; and he is not unhappy in his powers of ridicule, which is well pointed, until it soon becomes blunted by the suggestions of his benevolence and the abrasions of his verbosity, which, like the revolutions of a grindstone, soon wear away the subject applied to it, without undergoing in itself any sensible diminution. We spent last night at Alexandria, where we recruited our strength by a good night's rest, and reached this city to-day, by a packet-boat, about 1, P. M. Here, at ——— Hotel, Martin has kept up an incessant fire against Democrats and the Administration, for he has had no want of that ammunition with which he always primes and loads for such duty. In our own room, occupied by Commins, Martin and myself, he is not content to confine his feats for the gratification of ourselves and a few occasional visitors. He has several times carried his arms into the enemies' country—I mean the public room occupied chiefly by members of Congress, with many of whom he has no acquaintance, while all admire and acknowledge him privileged. I had the satisfaction of reading the President's message in half an hour after it was communicated to-day to Congress. The news is here, that Jefferson will yet support Wilkinson, though he may not find a more respectable Democrat than McRae to back him. Yet he says nothing in the message of the General's honor as a soldier, or his fidelity as a citizen.

He now speaks only of his energy, which, in conjunction with the exertions of the army and the patriotism of the militia, dissipated the plots that were formed on the Mississippi. The same paragraph of the message opens by implicating a contingency that may induce the Government party in Congress to impeach Mr. Marshall, by signifying a doubt, whether we have not still the use of our necks through the misconduct of the Judge. Should the latter suffer, 't were penance for that timidity of conduct, which was probably as instrumental in keeping him from imbruing his hands in our blood as it was operative in inducing him to continue my vexations, to pacify the menaces and clamorous yells of the cerberus of Democracy with a sop which he would moisten, at least, with the tears of my family. Should this be well founded, what pity would sacrifice to his sufferings; and if it is undoubtedly true, that in a private conversation he had with Martin, soon after the latter first arrived in Richmond, he observed to him, "that it would be difficult or dangerous for a jury to venture to acquit Burr, however innocent they might think him," who hence will believe that the greatest talents lodged in such nerves are not, when exercised in the judgment-seat, rather a public curse executed on a nation, than a natural blessing conferred upon the individual. Besides, the seasonable appearance, at this crisis, of a pamphlet by J. Daveiss, the Judge's brother-in-law, and late District Federal Attorney for Kentucky, removed from his office, for his premature and unsuccessful prosecution of Burr; the indiscriminate censure, in this pamphlet, of Jefferson, Wilkinson and Burr; the probable information the Judge must have had

of this intended publication, when he opened to the prosecutors as wide a field of investigation as they desired on their motion for our recommitment; and, in short, the well-known spirit of clanship and co-operation with which the Marshalls and all their connections are so uniformly animated—all these motives will clearly explain how readily the Judge must be disposed to favor alike the ruin of Burr, Wilkinson and Jefferson, in every thing short of murder. Ah! generous and accomplished Mercer, how will your virtues hereafter receive my devotions, if you should think them polluted with these blasphemies against the admired relative of your adored? But as my reflections are penned for no eye but that of my wife and two or three confidential friends, it will not be suspected by those who know my heart, that whatever share of further sufferings may result to me from the conduct of the Judge, can in the least generate my suspicions of his integrity, or warp my judgment of his behavior. Commins leaves this early to-morrow morning, for Baltimore, where I expect to join him the day after to-mormorrow. I entertain strong hopes of being able to obtain some negroes in partnership with him. Burr did not come along with us from Richmond, but will, we all believe, be through here in a day or two. I am enabled to say, from separate information I have obtained from Martin and Commins, he has made use of all the confidence he could inspire them with, to the utmost extent at Richmond, where he has induced them to become his securities, in all the civil suits instituted there against him, to amount of $36,000. I have no doubt he has set every engine of his ingenuity at work to effect this object. The

credulity and good nature of Martin, who worships even his vices, and is as assiduous in enlarging upon his looks and sayings as ever Boswell delighted in such drudgery for Johnson; and the vanity of Commins, to purchase the interest of a man whose resources appear to his understanding inexhaustible; both needed but little the collateral security of Pollock, which, however, Burr has not only exhibited to them, but he has besides laid before them my expectations of succeeding to a large fortune in Europe; thereby meaning to persuade them also, no doubt, that he will then control my finances; although he had promised me he would not communicate my prospects of the probability of that event to any one. Such is his honor; such his unerring purpose to take every chance of converting even the hopes of his acquaintances to his own interest. On the whole, I should be well pleased with this last liberty he has taken with me, if it should hereafter make a part of that basis on which I shall endeavor to ground his effects to arrange my present pecuniary demands upon him. It is quite unaccountable how he has disposed of all the cash he raised in Kentucky last year. Jourdan has convinced me that he, Burr, actually received through his hands, at Lexington, not less than $40,000, of which he never advanced more than $15,000 to all his agents and associates, to say nothing of all the property he procured upon his drafts. He could since have spent but little money, having received much from the United States, and having been in custody until very lately. I shall, to-morrow, endeavor to investigate the further views of Government upon me.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1807.

I have, this morning, written by Martin to Rodney, the United States Attorney-General, to request him to inform me, officially, whether Government is *now* disposed to prosecute me any further, in conformity with the late adjudication of the Chief Justice, or will finally discharge me, as has been done, I hear, in the case of Tyler; or will dispense with my personal appearance at Chillicothe until the September session of the Court there, as Government can not probably be prepared to prosecute at the next January term; and, in the mean time, the occasions of my family, and the serious demands of my private affairs, require my presence at Natchez. I am very anxious to receive an answer before dinner, in which I much fear I shall not be gratified, through my friend M.'s more indispensable devotion to his libations. I shall, however, note the result, I hope, to-night.

But I have been disappointed; for, though I spent a dollar in coach-hire to go with Martin, this evening, in quest of Rodney, we could not see him, as he was not returned from the President's, where he dined. Martin, I find, is very incontinent of every thing, which ordinary discretion should not disclose, where there is no injunction, in terms of secrecy. He assured me, to-day, he is prepared to sacrifice $10,000 for Burr, if the collateral security of Pollock should fail; that it will be nothing more than diminishing a provision of so much he had made by will for his three daughters, which he had originally destined for a Miss Thompson, now Mrs. Living-

ston, to whom he gave an allowance of $600 a year, for six or seven years. But her husband is now richer than himself; "however, let the worst happen," he added, "he had signed blank bonds, which he left to be filled up by the attorneys employed against Burr;" and such bonds, he says, are void by late decisions of the English Courts, adopted by the Courts here. This would seem inconsistent with the warm spirit of integrity which seems to breathe in all his thoughts and actions. And he declared accordingly, he would not take advantage of the circumstance. I also find his idolatrous admiration of Mrs. Alston is almost as excessive as my own, but far more beneficial to his interest, and injurious to his judgment, as it is the medium of his blind attachment to her father, whose secrets and views past, present, or to come, he is, and wishes, to remain ignorant of. Nor can he see a speck in the character or conduct of Alston, for the best of all reasons with him; namely, that Alston has such a wife.

This city has certainly no resemblance to any other upon earth. Its extent, as originally laid out, has been known for some years past, upon paper; but a few of its singular features, as they now smile or frown upon the Potomac, are remarkable. As to streets, literally speaking, there is not one yet in existence, unless the few wide paths and half-made roads that intersect each other can be called streets. On a hill, at the head of one of these, about a mile from the river, stand the two wings, without the body, of what is to constitute, but is already called, the Capitol. They are cumbrous, ill-proportioned, piles of building to my eye; with too small a

space for the central building, if ever reared. About another mile's distance, to the westward, stands the President's house, with a low dead-wall in front, and an ordinary post-and-rail fence in the rear of it. On either side of it, stands what are called its wings, which any person would require to be told were such before he could believe it; for they are of brick, and at too great a distance to appear to belong to the large White House between them any more than to the Capitol. They are each a row of ordinary brick houses; in those to the West is kept the Post-office; in those to the East, the Secretary of State's office is, etc.; and both, it is said, are to be connected with the center by a garden. But the last feature of architecture has not yet made its appearance. From the Capitol you behold, in four or five different directions, at the distance of from one to four miles apart, rows of houses, each of five or six together, so that the whole appears like a jumble of fragments of villages, except that part, being one and a half mile north-east of the Capitol, where the Navy-yard is said to stand, which is more built up than any other quarter of the city. But after all, every foreigner, after his arrival here, will inquire for fifty years to come, as is now very common, "where is the city of Washington?" Martin visited Rob. Smith this evening, where he heard Wilkinson extolled, and Burr as heavily denounced, as if he had not yet been tried. Mr. and Mrs. Smith declared Government had abundant proofs against Burr, which they could not produce from confidential restrictions. Martin, before he left them, convinced himself they would gladly dispense with his visit.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1807.

I went this morning with Martin, in a carriage, to visit Rodney, before breakfast. R. is a trifling negative character, from whose manner I could at once perceive he had yesterday spoken with Jefferson of my arrival here. He abruptly told us, "Government meant certainly to proceed against us;" on which he was received with a volley of abuse by Martin, who thanked his God for the news, as Government would thereby hasten the consummation of their own infamy. Rodney seemed surprised to learn from us that not a single witness had as yet been bound or summoned to appear in Ohio. I told him, as my call upon him was in his official character, I would leave him the letter I had yesterday written to him, which he promised he would, and did, answer this evening, by three or four lines, saying, "he could only observe, *at present*, that I would be bound to attend, pursuant to the recognizance I entered into at Richmond. So *he* is also trained to teaze, if he can not injure, the infidels who worship not the divinity of Jefferson. Martin has solemnly pledged himself to meet Government, at the sitting of the Court in January, in Ohio; to see things are conducted regularly, so far as may concern Burr and me, whether we personally appear there or not. He has found out from Robert Smith, that Jefferson has no thoughts of war with Britain, of which he has so much affected the contrary; for he will never act as he speaks or writes; he will always counteract his political professions by his back-stairs committees, until Jack Randolph shall finally sever him from them. Burr, I hear, is arrived at George-

town, three miles from hence, up the river. If so, he will probably be of our party to-morrow, to Baltimore. We set off at five in the morning, in the stage. Several northern members of Congress, whose names I know not, have had the curiosity or politeness to visit us. From one of them I was truly concerned to learn the death of Mr. Hunt, which happened last July, as he himself predicted, on his new purchase at French Grant, on the Ohio. This place has been extremely tiresome to me. The taverns are very dear, and badly kept; so that I shall leave it with pleasure. I wrote to-day to my landlord, Walton, John Banks, and my wife, to gratify, as far as I could, all their cares and solicitude for my future destinies. To all I acknowledged that tribute I so justly owe to Martin, who, with better breeding, and a redemption from his habits of inebriety, would be a perfect character. His heart is truly overflowing with the purest milk of benevolence. His potations may sometimes, perhaps, coagulate, but they will never acidify the fluid with which it is so well replenished. May it never be wasted on the unworthy.

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 30, 1807.

Rose before five this morning; but, as the coach then drove up with a cargo of eleven passengers, I have been detained here another day. I have borne the *ennui*, with which I have spent it, with such patience that I would not walk fifty yards from the tavern to visit the Hall of Congress, or observe how they ballot there for their officers or their committees; though I certainly should have gone so far to hear a debate, had there been any.

The election of officers reminds me of a curious Republican caper at Richmond, last winter, which, as it was of a negative nature, can not be recorded in that State, but should be known every-where else, to convict it of immoral conduct, if not of impiety. It was nothing more than a "remembering to forget," on the part of the Legislature, I mean the house of delegates, during the whole session, the immemorial custom to appoint a chaplain. Burr, I hear again, is somewhere in this city. But I no more depend upon his appearance than on that of a new comet. We start to-morrow again.

BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER 1, 1807.

Before I mention my having arrived here, at last, I shall note the generosity of my barber at Washington, who reluctantly received three-quarters of a dollar from me, because I observed to him, "I should give him more than his charge, if I was not rather poor at present." And he evinced his sincerity by assuring me he had $100 at my service, which he requested me to accept. How is this to be accounted for? Devereux, Hendren, O'Hennessy, and Butler will all exclaim, "He was an Irishman!" So he is: his name is Dixon, and it shall ever remain recorded in the duties of my gratitude. Yesterday, Martin and myself were wedged in among ten other passengers in the coach. A Mr. Blount, brother of the late Governor of Tennessee, was of the number. He is an infuriated Democrat, was at the battle of Germantown, and ordered the aim of the riflemen who shot General Agnew in that affair. I saw Tyler on alighting from the coach, who showed me his discharge, in the handwriting of Rodney,

whom he declares he has not seen, having received it from Captain Pike, who escorted him to Washington City. Tyler denies his having made any deposition against me any where, and *professes* his friendship and attachment to Burr, whom he is very anxious to see before he sets out for New York with Sam. Swartwout. To-day I left my cards at Pringle's and the Gilmore's. Of these families, I only saw Mrs. Wm. Gilmore, who seemed glad to see me. I have a little curiosity to collect in my fallen fortune as many exceptions as I can establish to the general condemnation of mankind pronounced upon them by the adversity of individuals. I breakfasted with Martin, and shall dine with him to-morrow, as well as all the Burrites in town. Burr, I hear, was, last night, at Georgetown. His appearance here is as much a matter of curiosity with his enemies as of interest with his friends. But the elements of his orbit, I repeat, are as unsettled as those of a new comet. Martin thinks he might have been detained to raise money enough to pay his tavern-bills, etc., while Commins says Burr assured him he should suffer no detention on that account. So it uniformly turns out, that no two persons of his acquaintance will ever understand him alike; and yet all who still adhere to him profess a unity of confidence in him. Commins has brought on a fever by his debaucheries. I shall stay here at least till Wednesday. 11, P. M.

BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER 2, 1807.

I spent the principal part of the morning with Martin, reading the papers and conversing with various visitors

he received. The news we deemed worthy of most notice before dinner, was that of two arrivals in town, namely, Wilkinson's baggage, preparatory to his taking up his quarters at Fort McHenry, near this city, and Burr's appearance at the French Hotel in Gay street. So the Brigadier, as I expected, will probably never revisit the Mississippi in his present command, nor probably long retain it here, notwithstanding all the control he may possess over the heart of Jefferson, and though he boasted, not long since, at Richmond, that he would be at Natchez in thirty days. Burr will probably show himself as little as possible to the public. He has, therefore, sneaked into obscure quarters, though Steward, who now manages this house since Evans's death, declared he would accommodate Col. Burr and his friends with as much attention in their adversity as he could have done in the days of their better fortune. The expression of this sentiment was drawn from him on the occasion of some illiberal Democrats threatening to leave the house, if we were received into it. I dined with Martin, who had a select party, though he left out two Burrites, Tyler and Luckett. Burr called upon Martin, for a few moments, before dinner. He returned in the evening, and had a long conference with Tyler in an adjoining room; during which the attention of our party in the dining-room was called forth to receive, at the windows, some public honors offered to us from the street. A desperate Democratic printer, commanding a company of one of the city regiments, whose name is Frely, drew up his men under the windows, and there halted, while his fife and drum played the "Rogues' March" for us; then gave three cheers, and

marched off. This salutation has prepared fresh fuel to keep up the blaze of Martin's wrath against all his opponents. Burr, on his return with Tyler to us, said, "these excesses of indecency always recoil on those who enter into them;" and he soon after withdrew, not evidently indifferent to such manifestations of public regards, which, however, I am sure, Martin will make his own use of with good effect against Wright, the Governor of Maryland, whom Martin first brought into notice, which the Governor no longer remembers. I left soon after, that is, about 8, P. M., but did not go to bed till 11. At 10, I had a long conversation with Tyler, who, I find, has long since taken up all my impressions of Burr, and will spare no labor to infuse his opinions into the prejudices of Colonel Swartwout, whom, he has no doubt, he will induce to adopt his sentiments.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1807.

Having accidentally met Hayden, the dentist, this morning, who mentioned to me the late arrival, at the Academy, of a grand electrical machine, I could not suppress my wishes to see it. Hayden obligingly offered to walk there with me, which I accepted. He introduced me to the Principal of the Seminary, who received me very politely, and presented me to a Mr. Paguet, who took upon him the exhibition of the powers of the machine. This was a superb plate of forty-six French inches diameter, with a conductor, forming three sides of a parallelogram, one of them in front of, and parallel to, the plate; the two others, perpendicular to it. The machine, with two turns of the plate, gave sparks twelve inches

long, and charged a battery, about fifteen feet of coated glass, in ten turns, which killed a duck. On my return from the seminary, I repaired to L. Martin's, where one of his students informed me he expected a mob would this evening attack the house, and offer violence to Mr. Martin, Col. Burr and myself, of which notice had been given by hand-bills, which had been circulated through the town. Martin was not at home. I eagerly sought a view of one of the bills, which is in these words:

"AWFUL!!!

"The public are hereby notified that four 'choice spirits' are this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, to be marshaled for execution by the hangman, on Gallows Hill, in consequence of the sentence pronounced against them by the unanimous voice of every honest man in the community. The respective crimes for which they suffer are thus stated on the record: first, Chief Justice M. for a repetition of his X. Y. Z. tricks, which are said to be much aggravated by his *felonins* capers in open Court, on the plea of irrelevancy; secondly, His Quid Majesty, charged with the trifling fault of wishing to divide the Union, and farm *Baron* Bastrop's grant; thirdly, B———, the chemist, convicted of conspiring to destroy the tone of the public Fiddle; fourthly, and lastly, but not least, *Lawyer* Brandy-Bottle, for a false, scandalous, malicious Prophecy, that, before six months, 'Aaron Burr would divide the Union.' N. B. The execution of accomplices is postponed to a future day."

My first inquiries of the few acquaintances I met in the streets, who *now* know me, were directed by a desire to

acquire some estimate of what we might expect in the evening; but I obtained little satisfaction. I then thought Burr might be best informed, as his vigilance I had before proved to be lively at all times, was most sharp on the approach of danger. I know not whether Tyler had smelt out what was brewing before I had heard any thing about it, but found, on my return from the seminary, before I had heard the news, he had fled rather precipitately; for he had declared to me, not two hours before I last went to seek him, that he should not go away until to-morrow. I therefore bent my course straight to Burr, at his shabby quarters, in Gay Street, where I waited full fifteen minutes before I could see him. I afterward found he was packing up his things to escape in the mail, which was to leave in ten minutes. He labored hard within, I could plainly see, to exhibit that composure of manner, to which he has devoted so much of his life, to form his exterior by. He would not wait to write the superscription of a letter, which he requested me to direct for him to David M. Randolph. I bid him adieu, with an assurance that I would follow him to-morrow, and he said I should find him at G——, in Philadelphia. On my return to Evans's, I found Martin, Luckett and Commins in my bed-room. Martin defied the menaces of the mob, but he assured me he had just left the mayor, who had promised him to make all necessary arrangements to secure the peace of the city, and protect every one from personal injury.

Luckett having come by a different way from that I took, though I was walking the streets in every direction all the morning, told me Burr and Swartwout had been

escorted by a guard sent them by the mayor, from their lodgings to the stage-office, from whence he had seen them start, under the good wishes of many spectators. Commins denounced the Government and its rabble, and said, it was impossible any thing should be attempted against us; but I thought otherwise. I deliberated a little on the various reports I had heard, however different in particulars, yet all agreeing that Martin and myself should at least receive an addition to our wardrobe, of a suit of tar and feathers. I thought it would not be improper to leave town, or at least change my lodgings forthwith. But I soon reflected, how naturally Burr might expect to receive unwelcome obloquy for his flight, and I at once determined to keep my ground. At dinner, therefore, I took my seat, amidst a very large company, at the long table, and remained there conversing a long time with a Frenchman, who sat next me, at least half an hour after 3 o'clock, the time designated in the hand-bills for the *spectacle* that was to take place in the evening. I should have sat, I know not how much longer, had not Steward, who manages the house, brought a man up to me, who inquired my name. On giving it to him, he said he belonged to the police of the city, and had been sent, with several others of that body, to watch, and give notice of any attempt upon the public peace, or on the persons of individuals. "That the mayor had particularly mentioned me to him by name," which I believed, as he said Mr. Thoroughgood Smith observed to him, "he had *formerly* known me and my lady here." I took this man out; his name is Goldsmith. I then ordered liquor for him and his companions in another

room, where I thanked them for the service they, in the way of their duty, were come to render me. They informed me, two troops of horse were ordered out, and I had nothing to fear. The time passed away in conversation with these men, about twelve in number, until near 5 o'clock, when I sent Goldsmith to request Martin to come to me, as I wished to share his fate, having understood from them that I ought not to go out of the house, which I interpreted into something like a wish on the part of the mayor. Soon after I returned to my room to write, Goldsmith came to me with intelligence that Martin could not be seen at his house; that his students and some friends were armed, and well prepared to repel an expected assault on the house; "but that the people were in motion in great force, had every thing prepared for tarring and feathering," and would, he believed, if disappointed or opposed, tear Martin and myself to pieces. He then begged of me not to leave the room I was in, adding, "that his companions would drown him, if they could, in a basin of water, for his attention to me, though he was as good a *Republican* as any of them." I now suspected this man might possibly direct the drunken desperadoes of an enraged multitude to my apartment. I therefore determined to change it for another the moment he left me. In a few minutes, Steward came up stairs, and told me to go into the garret, which I soon did, under an apprehension that I was betrayed or sought after. In the garret, I observed two trap-doors opening through the roof of the house, on which I resolved to take my station, from whence I might contemplate at my leisure, if I could not distinctly

see the scenes that might shortly pass in the streets below. Both the trap-doors were open. I shut down one of them, and intended to cut off my return into the house by shutting the other, should it become necessary. But an uproar soon rose to my ears from below, and from one of the garret windows I saw the mob pass by the house, to the amount of about fifteen hundred, as well as I could estimate, in full huzza, with fife and drum playing the "Rogue's march." I have since learned, they drew along with them, in two carts, the representatives, habited for execution, of the Chief Justice, Burr, Martin and myself. They passed on to Martin's house, in Charles-street, where they broke some of his windows, and performed some other feats, of which I have not yet learned the particulars. In the mean time, two troops of cavalry patrolled the streets, not to disperse the mob, but to follow and behold their conduct. They, the mob, made as much noise as if they were about to destroy the city, and returned about 7 o'clock to the point from whence they came, headed, I hear, by one Patterson, who lives there; while the cavalry have, I suppose, been long since dismissed, in full confidence in the honor of the mobility. I have been down stairs to supper at the long table. It is now near 10 o'clock, and I have not these two hours heard any more of either of them. How far the respectable part of the city will think it worth their while to show they had no participation in this frolic, which, I am informed, was chiefly made up at the "point," we shall hereafter learn. I believe it altogether originated with the Democratic printers here, who are but little controlled by one spiritless Federal paper, which is

all there is at present on that side; while there are three or more Federal prints supported in Philadelphia, where I have no expectation of receiving similar public honors to those conferred upon me here. Wrote to Natchez, to counteract, by anticipation, the alarms my friends there might take up for my safety, from the rapid circulation of rumors, etc.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1807.

Went early this morning to Martin's, where I saw Mr. Ray, a warm friend to him, who had taken, last night, the direction of the gentlemen who had volunteered to defend the house. Martin and his property, I found, were untouched last night, the mob having contented themselves with menaces and abuse, offering a defiance to the party within and the cavalry without, from whence I conclude that the mayor was intimidated by them and a large majority of the two troops of horse, well disposed to their views or their leaders; namely, one Biayo, and others from the "point." Martin did not appear to his friends until this morning. I took leave of him on my way to the packet, by which I set out for Philadelphia, where I arrived, with no occurrence during the journey, on Thursday, 5th of November, at 8 o'clock, P. M. Put up at the Mansion House, late Bingham's, kept by an Englishman, in the best style I ever saw in America. Dined, dressed, and visited Burr and my worthy friends, Mr. and Mrs. Jos. Lewis. Burr pretended he should have waited, if he had not believed every thing at Baltimore would have ended with the hand-bills. He was very glad to hear of Martin's having so well escaped, and

said he would give Bollman, who boarded where I did, a letter of introduction to me. I observed to him, that probably Dr. Bollman did not wish my acquaintance, as he had never called upon me in Richmond. Burr tried to excuse this, but failed. He is trying to live here incog., but every one knows he is in town. I supped with Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, *en famille*, where my friendly reception, kind inquiries, and the interesting conversation of my amiable friends, agreeably detained me until midnight, when I took leave, with a promise to dine with them to-morrow.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1807.

Spent the morning chiefly in examining the newspapers and visits to the Lewises, Conrad, C——h and Turnbull's families, as my friend Joe Lewis's dinner-hour is 2 o'clock. Before I went there, I had a call from R. Lewis, to bring me a letter from Walton, of no importance, and engage me to dinner with him to-morrow. Passed the evening sociably, *tête-a-tête*, with Joe L.; during which I was chiefly occupied in conversation with him on the subject of Burr's trials and adventures, and also that of my present financial derangements. About 7, P. M., we were called into the street by an alarm of fire, which turned out to be groundless; and I saw him back to his house, where I then left him, to return to my lodgings, as I had a severe headache. Before I went to bed, I observed that the "American," a Democratic paper of Baltimore, contained an invidious paragraph approving of the insults offered to us there last Tuesday evening. Bollman has left his card with me, with a letter of introduction from Burr.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1807.

At breakfast, this morning, Bollman presented himself to me upon his credentials, and I received him into my acquaintance with all the ease of courtly etiquette I am master of. I invited him to take a seat by me, and entered into conversation with him on general topics, which was sustained for half an hour, and succeeded by his obliging me with his view of the Mississippi country, and particularly the environs of New Orleans, for which he entertained a decided preference to any other quarter, and projects, probably without the command of a dollar, nothing less than the purchase of an estate, at $60,000, within five miles of that city. Daniel Clark has assured him it is a great bargain, as it will yield a revenue of $15,000 a year by adding a few slaves to those already on it; and Bollman only wants a friend or two to join with $10,000 each, and he can effect the rest. I have little doubt Bollman has conceived I may be of use to him in this affair; but I am certain he can not serve me in it. Mrs. David Randolph had no small trial of her skill in detecting this man's character, if her judgment has not erred in the attempt; for his countenance, manner and address possess every qualification to engage the warmest interest in his favor as a scholar, a gentleman, or perhaps a gallant. Yet he has formerly failed in this town as a merchant, rather through his excesses in speculation and intrigue than from any natural inaptitude to that sort of life. And his late wife's family discovered enough in him to determine them to oppose his connection with the N. family as far as was possible. But I will, at present let him rest. I dined

and spent the early part of the evening with R. Lewis, in the same way I did yesterday with his brother, that is, in the enjoyment of good wines and friendly conversation. I must, however, partake of no more of these early dinners, as the long sittings that succeed them leave no time, these short days, to transact whatever business may yet detain me here. Duane has announced the arrival of *Admiral* Blennerhassett, at the Mansion House, and republished, from the "Baltimore Whig," its invitation to invest us with a suit of "Yankee ermine," as well as the process-verbal of the mobility of that city. But I shall visit this apostle of Democracy on Monday.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1807.

Visited, this morning, by Tom. Butler, who made me very happy, by learning from him my beloved wife had quite recovered from her fever, and she and the boys were well after the middle of last September, when he saw them. While I was attending the service at the Roman Catholic chapel in Fourth Street, I had the honor of morning visits from sundry great personages, who left their cards for me; namely, Burr, Bollman and George Pollock, reputed to be very rich, whose education, I have heard, Burr has had some concern with, and at whose house here he has taken up his quarters. After my return from Mass, I was visited by a Mr. Reckless, of New Jersey, who seems a warm partisan of Burr, and is engaged in endeavoring to do away an indictment, pending in that State against Burr, for the killing of General Hamilton. Upon the removal of this impediment, I find Burr means to try the effect of requisitions upon a considerable party he consid-

ers attached to him in that quarter. Mr. R. treated me with much consideration, and said, "while I was abroad, some members of the Jersey Legislature had come with him to wait upon me." I find, indeed, the greater part of the numerous strangers who frequent the Mansion House regard me with no common attention. I form acquaintances among them without previous introductions; but this is more to be attributed to the sinking of Democracy here into the coalition of the Federals and Quids, which has nearly annihilated the faction of Duane, than to any claim I could have upon public favor from the merit of my acts or the singularity of my fortune. I have, among others, met here with a Mr. B., from Charleston, South Carolina, who has traveled much, and has embellished good talents with much accomplishments.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1807.

Conversed for half an hour, after breakfast, with Bollman, chiefly upon medical and physiological subjects, in which I was much pleased with some novelty of fancy recommended by that suavity of manner and easy address which endanger the judgment of those who listen to him. I had invitations from Pollock and Joe Lewis for dinner to-morrow. Dined with Turnbull, spent part of the evening with Tom. Butler, and supped with Joe Lewis *en famille*, where I sat until midnight.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1807.

Soon after breakfast, visited Burr and Pollock. Burr has again opened an audience-chamber, which is much occupied. Although I found two or three friends with

him at breakfast, he was called out the moment he had finished, and was absent about an hour and three-quarters, during which interval Mr. Pollock gave me his company. I find him a very well-bred man, who has had advantages in Europe. He spoke less of Mrs. Alston than I expected, and has never seen her husband, whose various talents, however, he does not the less correctly estimate. With respect to Burr, whatever may have been the ground of his present intimacy with Mr. P., I can venture to affirm, it has already been abused on the part of the former, although the latter, as yet, is evidently unaware of it. Pollock withdrew, and I entered upon the objects of my visit. After informing Burr that Martin was resolved to appear for us at Chillicothe, he seemed all surprise; and nothing could be more natural than the collision of such generosity with his own ingratitude; for he fled from Baltimore, without waiting even to thank his friend for the long and various services he had rendered him. Further, he had not written to him from hence. On recovering from this new charge of Martin's benevolence upon his feelings, he exclaimed, "What a man!" but told me I must write to him not to think of the journey till he should hear from him; that I should direct him, in the mean time, to write to Burnet and Michael Baldwin, the late Marshal of Ohio, to *retain* both (no doubt, with Martin's advance of their fees), and that he still had no thoughts of going to Ohio, though he had given notice to Scott, the Virginia Marshal, to be prepared with a guard of gentlemen, by the tenth of December, at Richmond, to conduct him from thence to Chillicothe. He added, "that Martin's too great zeal and indiscretion

would do us great mischief in Ohio, and the skill of Burnet, with the influence of Baldwin, who was popular with the blackguards, and exasperated against the Administration since the loss of his office, were the best means to frustrate the efforts of Government to have bills found against us, which they would exert themselves to effect, to divert his, Martin's, attention from other objects." He now again assured me he would be glad I could extricate myself from the Government upon any terms agreeable to my own feelings, and fully approved of my effecting that object through Duane, in any way my judgment might suggest. This business being thus dispatched, I next solicited him on the subject of his finances, on which indeed he had partly anticipated me, by inquiring, "what were my prospects through my friends, the Lewises?" I informed him I had no expectations from that quarter, and should absolutely starve, while I was possessed of such splendid hopes in Europe, if I was not relieved in the mean time. He regretted much the absence from town of two persons with whom he expected to do something; but he had, he said, negotiations on foot, the success of which he could not answer for, but should know in two or three days. I now represented to him the probable necessity I could not resist, of urging Alston, but hoped such a measure would not be displeasing to him or to Mrs. Alston. Upon this suggestion, he was less reserved than he had been with me at Richmond, before he was acquainted with my pecuniary views and my means of advancing him in Europe, and freely declared neither Mrs. Alston nor himself would be displeased with any steps I might take against Alston, who

had treated him in a manner I could well enough judge of, to save him the mortification of expressing his opinion of it. He even assured me he had demanded from Alston an explanation of his conduct in addressing the letter to Pinckney, immediately on his arrival in custody at Richmond, observing, "that no humiliation of his condition could make him forget what he owed to his own dignity;" that Alston had shown much contrition, and made every possible concession, including an offer of a public reconciliation in print; but Burr said he thought it would be prudent to spare him this extreme of humiliation, I suppose, for his daughter's sake. By the by, it is remarkable that many persons of penetration and intelligence, who have indulged an eager interest in investigating every thing during the last year relating to Burr, within the reach of their inquiries, should have pretermitted that irredeemable passage of Alston's letter, imputing to Burr a design to bereave his infant grandson of his patrimony. Before Burr returned from the audience chamber, I found Mr. Pollock had made a like omission; and, upon my acquainting him with the circumstance, he expressed his feelings suitably of the confounded folly and turpitude of the writer, who had long before repeated to me assurances he had given his father-in-law, that his property was worth one hundred thousand guineas, and he would, if necessary, embark the whole of it in the furtherance of Col. Burr's plans. I did not leave Burr until he had again reminded me of his hopes of my forwarding his views in England; to which I answered, "I could only lend my endeavors to serve him by the letters I had already offered him." He said,

it was to those only he alluded; so the baits I have thrown out to him do not yet glitter in vain, which further appeared, by his observing to the party present, when first I called upon him, "that he supposed I had not yet taken the trouble to find out whether a certain man was dead or alive, upon whose death I should be entitled to a fortune worth, at least, one hundred thousand guineas," adding, "I had a strange fund of indifference to objects few other men could resist." This was truly well thrown out for Pollock, etc. But I was not a little amused to observe he had been calculating how many years' purchase my expected estates of £6,000 a year would sell for; so that while this bait glitters he will not lightly break from me. Dined and spent the evening with a set party at Joe Lewis's. I have found it due to so worthy a friend, to offer him a perusal of these notes, as I hope they will more fully develop to him my character and necessities than he could otherwise become acquainted with either; and I took to his aid and counsel, rather than to any other present means, to lighten the actual burdens that bear so heavily upon my family. He has perused the first volume with so much interest and satisfaction that he has given it a second reading. This alone would be an ample compensation for the little labor I have spent upon it. I feel I have penned many reflections, and passed many characters with my own, in review, in a light which should be admitted to few eyes besides those of my wife. But I fully rely upon the safe keeping of the confidence I have ventured with my friend, who will therefore be enabled to take a better view of my sufferings and necessities. I have lost some time in visiting

Duane, which I shall not effect before Thursday. There are two excellent papers here lately set up against him; namely, the "Spirit of the Press" and the "Tickler," which would be perfect, if they were not too local.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1807.

Soon after breakfast, I was called, by note, to Lewis's counting-house, to meet Bartlett, the partner of Tom Hart, of Lexington, who kept me waiting there for him the best part of the morning; but, at last, arrived, and paid me $832, being so much saved out of my losses by Hart, in 1805. Dined with a formal party at my friend R. Lewis's, where I sat with a pleasant set, after dinner, until 11 o'clock, and received an invitation to dinner from Mr. Tightman, an amiable and convivial young merchant of this city, and son of the Judge of that name. Reeve let freely loose the flow of soul and of wine. He is an excellent mimic, and a truly comic character, and might, if he had not a far better calling, excel upon the stage.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1807.

Occupied this morning, chiefly, by reading the papers, particularly a London Courier, containing an excellent speech of Sheridan's, or rather only a skeleton of it, on Irish affairs. This paper Mr. Bee was kind enough to procure for me, without solicitation on my part. Until dinner time, I passed the remainder of the morning in walking and buying a few articles for my wife. Burr has taken an excursion of about twenty miles up the Delaware, to return, I expect, on Saturday, when I propose, in the event of his being still out of cash, to make

my last demand upon him so long projected; namely, a requisition to him to procure security, to which my family can resort, in this country, for my claims upon him, to the amount of about $9,000, made up by my account already presented to him, and the debt and charges arising from Miller's demand. The mercantile folks are much alarmed with the news of to-day, threatening a speedy war with Britain. And I have heard it said, that shares in some of the Insurance Stocks have fallen to-day ten per cent. But I observe the successful energies of my native country against Copenhagen have a petrifying effect upon the Democrats, while nineteen-twentieths of the merchants, who are Federalists, awfully contemplate the approaching crisis with England. This evening, I received a novel remedy for a sharp toothache, with which I was affected. It was grounded on a principle, that great mental engagement and exertion would operate a diversion of inordinate action expended upon a small diseased portion of the body. I attempted to put this fancy to the test, by effecting my too long-neglected interview with Duane. After tea, I set out upon this adventure, and arrived at his dwelling in much pain, about 8, P. M. I think it deserves notice that I should mention, because my feelings were singularly affected by the preparation I found I had to undergo, to obtain not only an audience of this high priest of Jacobinism, but even admission within the walls that contained his Holiness. I had pulled the bell three times, without producing the common effect of bringing any one to the door from within, and was in the act of applying my hand to a fourth experiment, when a man answered from with-

out, an Irishman. He inquired my name, in a full Cork accent, but very low voice, and on hearing it, said Mr. Duane was not at home, but if I would leave my name and business he would mention it to him. I said, I should suppose my name was now become familiar enough with every one in the employment of Mr. Duane to render my leaving it in writing unnecessary. The printer's devil replied, "to be sure, every one knew *Mr. Hassett*, and Mr. Duane would be glad to see him." While this conversation was passing, Duane, who had been listening in the alley adjoining the house, came forward without his hat; for he had passed from the rear of the house into the alley, to spy secretly the chances of safety, as he could ascertain them by observing what he could see or hear, between his scout and me. The Colonel has been further seasoned to the service of his party, of which he now begins to feel a little tired, by two drubbings, since his return from Richmond; and as he rises in military rank, and suffers in service, he grows more wary in caution, and has learned from experience the folly of exposing his person by night, without full assurance of the peaceful intentions of his visitor. All scruples of this sort being removed upon the present occasion, I apologized for the unusual hour I had fallen upon for my visit, which had seemingly broken in upon the Colonel while he was engaged with business or company, as he had been denied to me, though I was fortunate enough to find him at home. To this I received some blundering answer; the scout withdrew, and I was invited into the house, where I was introduced to Mrs. Duane.

In a few minutes I signified a desire to speak with the

Colonel in private. Upon this suggestion he took up a candle, and I followed him up stairs. I opened the interview by informing him that I could not leave town without calling to thank him for the visit and friendly offers I had received from him during my imprisonment in Richmond; that I felt disposed to regard his motives to that visit as distinct from considerations of party or politics, the mere dictates of national feelings, and the natural impulse of an Irishman to serve a suffering countryman in distress; that, besides this motive to my visit, I felt much curiosity, and some personal interest, to learn how far he approved of the determination of Government to pursue me with further and indefinite prosecutions, which could add nothing in their result to the public interest or the credit of the Administration, however they might diminish or ruin my fortune; that, although it might be deemed politic to keep Col. Burr busy by such vexations, Government could apprehend nothing from me, and at all events I was sure *he* could not approve of the vindictive spirit that had even refused to dispense with my personal appearance at Chillicothe, next January, when Government can not be prepared to go to trial, much less shall I; then, reminding him of the offers he had made me at Richmond, I said, my situation at present was very different, as it regarded my connection with Col. Burr, from what it was at that time; for I now regarded myself as cleared from all charges that the Government had failed to establish against me, and no longer felt it incumbent upon me to undergo endless prosecu tions to vindicate whatever concern I had in Col. Burr's speculations, especially as he probably will never renew

them; and if he could, I should have no further concern in them.

I had no need to sound any deeper in the shallow waters of my research, which by no means possess that depth that is commonly supposed. Burr had advised me that this man loved wonderfully to hear himself talk, and that the best way was to let him run on until he was out of breath, and afterward take him back to those points on which he had stumbled, and on which I wished to fasten his attention. The hint was serviceable, and I made more use of it than I might have done if I had depended upon the reserve Duane affected on his visit to me in the Penitentiary, which I now see arose from a discovery he soon made on that occasion, that he durst not broach the unhallowed purpose for which he then visited me, which was a bargain to induce me to betray my engagements or connections; while, on the present occasion, he considered me rather as a politician assailing his interest underhand, than a suitor soliciting his good offices. I concluded my observations with stating that I understood Colonel Burr meant again to surrender himself into the custody of the Marshal of Virginia, with intent to be conveyed from Richmond, about the tenth of next month, to Chillicothe, at the public expense, and if I should not soon discover that Government would decline further proceedings against me, I should immediately prepare to commence the expenditure of so much of the public money as the law would allow me toward the charges of my defense, which had not hitherto cost the United States a dollar. But I wished him to be assured it was not my purpose to ask any favors from Govern-

ment at any time, or through any quarters whatever, my chief object in making him this present visit being to learn, as far as I could through him, whether the Administration still preserved a spirit of hostility to me personally? He now launched out into abuse of Burr and Marshall, and said, the Government were committed with the sentiments of the majority of the people, who would never be satisfied without our conviction on such full evidence as had come out, particularly that of Wilkinson, Dunbaugh and the Hendersons; that it would look like *persecution* of Burr, to grant me any forbearance, and that the Chief Justice must atone for his conduct to the country. Luther Martin, he declared, had lately done Burr more harm than his enemies could have wished in the public sentiment, by his silly and intemperate publications. Wilkinson, he acknowledged, was as much concerned in Burr's schemes as Burr himself; but his exculpation was not only due to him, from his seasonable discovery and overthrow of the plot, but his country should canonize him for it, and the Government could never sufficiently requite him. He declared he, Duane, had a regular correspondence with Hay, who, he would not believe, had ever censured or neglected to vindicate the *General.* I expressed my surprise at his entertaining such sentiments seriously, however he might advance them in his paper; but he was frank enough to protest to me that he considered Gallatin* *now* the most dangerous man in the country; Randolph was mad; Burr might still play the part of Coriolanus or Alcibiades; but Jeffer-

* Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury.

son and Madison were the only men on whom the country could depend, though he had no doubt Monroe would have been President, had it not been for the interference of Randolph, which had ruined his prospects. As for himself, he had been proposed as senator, during his attendance at Richmond, without his knowledge, which was the reason he had lost his election. Mr. Erskine's dispatches, which had been used as a trap to ensnare him, only contained some *newspapers*, and he had defeated the scheme by *forwarding* them *after* the mail. It appears plainly from this sketch, that we have authority for knowing the present party in power are divided among themselves; that the Chief of the nation is still afraid of Burr, which is further proved by his own indiscretion; for Jefferson has lately said, that whenever Burr could get to the Netherlands, he could command $400,000. Yet Duane continues his daily attacks upon Burrism, and complains a good deal of Burr being in town, though his bothered runners can not find out where he lives. Before I left him, he affected to disapprove of the late rising in Baltimore, no doubt, because he can't excite the good people of this town to another here. He seemed surprised to learn I had the hardihood to dine and sup in public, on the day my effigy was executed; and when I told him I was always provided with a brace of pistols, he twirled on his seat. Having given him this impression for the benefit of himself and his friends, I left him, in perfect freedom from my toothache. I returned to the Mansion House, where I passed the remainder of the evening in miscellaneous conversation with several agreeable men.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1807.

I have nothing material to note to-day, except my dining and spending the evening with Mr. Edward T——, whose hospitality but too successfully seduces the prudence of his guests.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1807.

Took a family dinner, to-day, with Jos. Lewis, who had yesterday appointed to take me, this evening, to see a fine grazing farm, about six miles from town, belonging to a man of the name of Sickle, at the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill. We set out in Lewis's carriage, in company with a Mr. Hamilton, a very amiable Englishman, who formerly belonged to the Navy, is curious in paintings, of which he has a handsome collection that I have not yet seen, and keeps a small and well-regulated academy with much credit. We reached the place early enough to see it and the fine cattle belonging to it, together with a remarkably beautiful heifer, at a neighboring plantation of Sickle's, on our way homeward. This heifer, about three years old, besides her fine make, would weigh, it is said, fifteen hundred pounds. The farm was remarkable for its banks, faced with stone, and luxuriant pastures, of which, however, a great deal is wasted for want of better care, notwithstanding the crops of hay taken off every spring and summer.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1807.

I am much mortified by my detention here, through the probably delusive hopes Burr has held out to me of the

probable success of his efforts to raise money. I have almost let slip the season for descending the Ohio, for there is much appearance of an early winter; and thus will another item be probably added to the long account of my sufferings by this man.

Wrote to my wife; read and dined at home with a company of about thirty, among whom were counted individuals of thirteen different nations, and General Moreau, who sets out, to-morrow, for New Orleans, with a single companion, in the stage, by the way of Pittsburgh. The General spoke to nobody; but his companion, Bollman, assures me he is a man of little speech and no ideas, except on military affairs; so that I had no loss in dining with a conversable party at a distant part of the table. Wrote this evening to Luther Martin and Doctor Commins, to put the former off his design of going to Chillicothe for Burr and myself, and to remind the latter of my intention to travel with him, and have a concern in his negro purchases.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1807.

Bollman, to-day, handed me a printed estimate of the value and yearly profits of sugar estates in the Orleans territory, furnished him by Daniel Clark, now here, who will decline visiting me, I apprehend, until I shall have extinguished the last spark of Burrism within me, with which, I suspect, he has been sufficiently singed to dread the fire. Spent the best part of the morning shopping, after some conversation with Bollman, who further recommends himself by a disclosure of his family affairs and narrow circumstances, unsought altogether on my part.

The result of Clark's statement is a yearly return, in Acadia county, of twenty-eight per cent. on the capital invested, and twenty-two in the vicinity of Orleans, which is represented superior to any thing farming can produce any where else, because no more, in fact, than one-third of the capital is advanced for the first installment, the produce of the estate clearing itself in four years. But, though examples are given of what has been done by two or three planters for as many successive years in the vicinity of *Orleans*, the counties of Acadia and La Fourche, as yet, do not furnish experience of what might be expected in those situations, and the best *management* and no accidents are presumed.

Supped this evening with Joe Lewis, and on my return home was blest with a letter from my beloved wife, which I found on my bedroom table, and probably was forwarded, under cover from Baltimore, to Burr, as it had no postmark, and did not reach me through Lewis. This letter is of 28th of September, at which time all was well at Natchez.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1807.

Had a note from Burr, this morning, to dine with him to-morrow at 4 o'clock, which invitation I have accepted, in anticipation of mixing, probably for the last time, with a few of his choice spirits. Spent the evening and supped, *en famille*, agreeably with Joe Lewis. There is a great fall of snow since yesterday. R. Lewis has solicited to see my notes, which I could not refuse. He pledged his discretion, in which I fully confide.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1807.

So much of these short mornings is consumed with visits, the papers, and the unavoidable waste of time that can not be denied to acquaintances only, that little business can be dispatched by me before dinner, when that call must be answered at 2, or even 3, o'clock. To-day, however, I did a little shopping before I came home to dress for Burr's party, which I joined at half-past four, consisting only of Mr. Biddel, one of his most attached friends, and brother to the notary public here, Dav. Randolph, Tom. Butler, Doctor Commins, Mr. Pollock, Burr and myself. The party was as insipid as possible. Burr is evidently dejected; and though he often affected to urge and enliven the conversation, it languished through the stupidity of Randolph, the unconcern of Pollock, the vacant reserve of Commins, the incapacity of Butler, the nothingness of Biddel, and the aversion of myself to keep it up, until 8 o'clock, when it expired; and I took leave soon after the entrance of a General Nichol, who seemed another of Burr's gaping admirers, and much resembles, in manner, breeding and intellect, General Rupel, of Kentucky. Thus ended the last invitation I shall ever probably receive from this American Chesterfield, who is fast approaching the limits of that career he has so long run, through the absurd confidence of so many dupes and swindlers. I had yesterday put into my hands, for the first time, by David Randolph, Joe Daviess's pamphlet. It is a hasty, passionate performance, seldom alluding particularly to me by name, but bearing hard upon Jefferson's hypocrisy

and neglect of the author, and the early information he gave him of Burr's designs and first movements. The book will, with all its defects, mortify Jefferson, by proving to the world that he would at no time open his eyes or ears to Wilkinson's intrigues with the Spanish Government, and, therefore, to use an expression of the author, "the President is as much *espanishized* as the Brigadier." It has also great merit in its comments, and the parody it contains on Jefferson's communication of last January to Congress, on Burr's operations last winter on the Ohio and Mississippi, which has very much diverted me. This performance, together with Judge Marshall's last volume of the Life of Washington, exposing the origin and views of the present Democratic party in power, have, by this time, I have no doubt, inspired Jefferson with a more deadly hatred of the Marshall faction than he has ever conceived of all the Burrites he ever heard of. I was presented, to-day, by a Mr. Nolta, a young Italian, who has often met Wilkinson at parties in New Orleans, with a caricature of that General à la Falstaff. It is a good resemblance, and pleased me, though it is not thought as well done as another he has made of Edw. Livingston, as a companion to the first, under the title of Lawyer Greyhound. I have paid my second week's bill here, amounting, in the whole, to about thirty dollars; and for this, though I do not dine at home half my time, I can not have a fire in my room.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1807.

Visited, this morning, the infant Academy of the Arts, lately established here, with Joseph Lewis, who is a subscriber to the Institution, and showed me the way from

his counting-house, where I pass half an hour every morning. The present collection, in a well contrived building, at the upper end of Chestnut Street, is slender in paintings; all of which, however, I did not stay long enough to examine. Two fine large ones, by West, of scenes from Lear and Hamlet, are lent for exhibition by their owner Mr. Fulton; and there are few other originals of much value, for painters will, for at least a century yet, find too much encouragement in Europe to permit the establishment of an American school. But the many fine casts taken, by permission, of Bonaparte, and now exhibited here, offer a feast to better connoisseurs than myself, of high relish. During the little time I spent there, however, I was highly pleased, among a great number my notice was directed to by Lewis, to contemplate, particularly, a large and a small Venus de Medicis, of which I did not like the line of straight continuation between the nose and the forehead, so justly condemned by Lavater. I speak of the larger of the two, which otherwise is exquisite. The other one is a copy in marble of Venus coming out of the bath; has a better face, and is extremely beautiful. The group of Laacoon and the Apollo of Belvidere are perfect to my admiration, which would not be exhausted upon them for hours; and the Farnesian Hercules is as well copied in our Lavater as ever an engraving represented a piece of sculpture But Lewis's early dinner hour was at hand, and my appetite for these morceaux was obliged to give way to his for his beefsteaks; so I made only a first offering, on this occasion, of my admiration to the artists of antiquity, with a devout hope of discharging the full debt of my

homage hereafter to them, when I shall speak more of this Institution.

Dined with Lewis very agreeably, as usual, and, in the evening, young Mr. Coates, son of Samuel Coates, whom we knew here in '96, stepped in and invited me to dinner for next Monday, at his country place on the Schuylkill, to join a small party.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1807.

Having determined, last Wednesday, I would not see two days more pass away without leaving my ultimatum with Burr, I set out this morning for his quarters, resolved to burst the cobweb duplicity of all his evasions with me upon money matters. It will be seen everywhere in these notes, how long and how insidiously he has trifled with my claims upon him, from the time when he assured Barton I was a bankrupt, and denied to him my possessing any legal claims upon Alston or himself; while, at the distance of fifteen hundred miles, he was writing most affectionately to me until the last interview I have this day had with him, in which he treated me not as a faithful associate, ruined by my past connection with him, but rather as an importunate creditor invading his leisure or his purse with a questionable account. The time therefore has fully arrived, at which I should determine whether I should attempt to secure upward of $7,000 for my family, or sacrifice it to an absurd and amphibious character of an associate and confidant in his views to future projects, without principle or object, and destitute of all means to promote them. Under these reflections, patience now became exhausted, and to pro-

crastinate any longer now appeared treason to my family. I therefore set seriously about the task I had allotted myself for this morning. I found him alone, and had not been ten minutes with him, after he had discharged a shop-boy, with whom he had been trifling, I know not how long, about some article of dress, before he asked me if I had heard of Mr. Luckett's treatment of him? On my answering in the negative, he informed me that Luckett had sent a marshal to him yesterday, and obliged him to give bail to the amount of about $16,000, Luckett's claim, I suppose, being about half that sum. This intelligence mortified me, as it convinced me I had lost time. I expressed my concern for this new embarrassment he had experienced, as it might narrow his means to satisfy other claims which he did not consider questionable, like Luckett's. He asked me upon this, what claims I alluded to? I said it was with great regret I should mention my own; namely, the amount of the account I had furnished him with in Richmond, and my claim for his protested draft held by Miller, with my indorsement for $4,000, on account of which my property on the Ohio had been sacrificed to four times the amount. Now, had you seen how "that eye of his did from its lustre fly," you would have beheld a little man indeed. He was dumb and motionless; but he soon recovered his accustomed affectation, and asked, what was the amount of my account, declaring he had never looked into it since I had handed him it. I said it was a small one, obviously meaning by comparison with most others he had settled or secured. "A pretty *small* one," he replied,

"of only about $3,000;" and said, he had not *yet examined* it. This sneer, at the amount of my account, and the questioning of its fairness, by referring it to examination, which he falsely said he had not given it; for he looked it over the evening I presented it at Richmond, asked a question or two on some of the items, which I answered, informing him I had vouchers for most of them, which he said he did not want to see, and was satisfied it was correct; such a diminution of that suavity of address, with which he had already too often diverted me from my purpose, now exhibited him a heartless swindler in the last swoon of his disorder, and determined me to hasten my departure. I suppose I testified my feelings sufficiently by my looks and manner, without removing his doubts of the impression this treatment made upon me, by now telling him, as I did, that my time and expectations were exhausted, and I should stay in Philadelphia no longer; that I perceived he could give me no hopes of money, which I did not expect, but that, though I was contented to starve myself, I must secure something for my family, since I knew he had found means in that way to accommodate every other creditor, which was all that detained me in town. He now pretended he had nobody he could call upon. I observed, I thought it very possible he might never return from Europe, in which case my family must have a security to resort to in this country. To this remark he had the kindness to reply, "that when I said my family, I meant myself, and that I knew all his friends." "You do," said he, "Mr. Blen*na*hassett"—so he has

frequently pronounced my name before, when he has got beyond self-management. "Sir," said I, "I must insist upon it, I do *not* know all your friends." Upon this contradiction, he begged my pardon, and said he really thought he had informed me of all who were his friends in that city.

CHAPTER XIV.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Oct. 29th*, 1807.

MY DEAR WIFE:—To-morrow I set out from here for Baltimore, in company with Luther Martin, who has pledged himself to attend, on the part of Col. Burr and myself, at the Circuit Court of the United States, to sit at Chillicothe, on the 4th of January next, whether we shall personally appear or not, to see that all matters respecting us are properly conducted. It is probable I shall not regard a non-compliance on the part of Government with, not a request, but a desire, I have expressed through Rodney, the United States Attorney General, that they would dispense with my personal appearance until the ensuing term in September, through my wishes, in the mean time, to revisit my family and attend to my private affairs; for the proceedings that should necessarily precede a forfeiture of the recognizance I have entered into can not be gone through before January, 1809. The courts of the United States sitting in Ohio only twice a year, namely, in the months of January and September, Harding can explain to you how two writs of *scire facias* must be returned, in case of my absence from the district, before my recognizance becomes forfeited. So that my present plan is to push for Natchez, about the middle of November, in company with Doctor Commins, by way of

the Ohio. Government, while they smart under the mortification arising from the issue of the proceedings at Richmond, seem determined to pursue Burr and myself until we cry mercy; but the world shall first cry shame! This evening I shall receive Rodney's answer to my letter, probably negativing my demand, but that will not affect my movements. My affairs will detain me about ten days in Philadelphia, after a stay of two in Baltimore. I have strong expectations of putting my claims upon Burr and Alston on a desirable footing.

As to news, you may inform those most interested, particularly our esteemed friend Mr. Hunt, there will be no war with Britain, much less with Spain. This conclusion is not drawn merely from the President's message to Congress, but from better authority. Electioneering, secretly, is very active here on the part of Madison, Clinton and Monroe, for the exclusion of Jefferson from the next Presidency, while the efforts of others to obtain the Vice Presidency, establish a schism in the present party in power which exhibits a warning type of the future destinies of this country. Tyler left this for Baltimore, this morning. I shall see him there and learn the manner in which he has obtained his discharge, which has been given him only verbally, by Rodney. Duane, I expect, will soon take a decided part against Jefferson, because he has not been less awkward in tampering with letters that have passed through his hands.

I hope you will keep up a rational confidence in my resources to preserve my health and spirits; and I beseech you to seek continually the utmost variety and change of scene, which I so well know the happy effects of upon

you, as the only means of restoring you to my eyes in the state I beseech God to grant I may find you.

Luther Martin is certainly one of the most benevolent men alive. His heart is overflowing with the milk of philanthropy, which his potations may sometimes coagulate, but will never acidify.

Kiss my boys for me. Your sickness has diverted my reflections from them of late; but our preserving Providence will restore us in its own time according to our merits. H. B.

BALTIMORE, *Tuesday, Nov. 3d*, 1807.

Col. Burr set off to-day at 1 o'clock, P. M., in the mail, for Philadelphia, with S. Swartwout, as he had no particular desire to behold a representation of his execution. I was a little more curious; and, notwithstanding handbills were this morning scattered through the town, purporting that the execution of Judge Marshall, A. Burr, Luther Martin and myself would take place at Gallows Hill, at 3 o'clock this evening, I both dined and supped at the public table, with very large companies, here at Evans's, and am, after all, hearty and in good spirits. The mob was made up from the Point, but pledged their honor, which they did not violate, that they would hurt no person. They were followed by two troops of horse through the streets, to see they did their business orderly. All have dispersed at least three hours ago, it being now 11, P. M.

I start to-morrow for Philadelphia, where I am sure I shall not receive such public honors. I tire you with

too many letters; but it is to prevent your paying any attention to the newspapers. I expect Doctor Commins and myself will travel together to Natchez. I pray God this may find you and the boys well. This is the only care that occupies

Your husband, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

BALTIMORE, *Nov.* 14*th*, 1807.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 8th inst. I have received, and thank you for the friendly and affectionate sentiments you have expressed for me. Should you return by this place, you will certainly see me. I shall, I flatter myself, occasionally hear from you, should you leave Philadelphia by a different route. I have written to Baldwin and Burnet, and have inclosed for Judge Todd an open letter, under cover, to Col. Burr. I certainly should wish to avoid a journey to Chillicothe at so severe a season of the year, if thought unnecessary. Whether witnesses will attend against Col. Burr or yourself, is uncertain. Whether bills will be found, is more uncertain; and it is impossible that trials should take place at next term, even should bills *be* found. Under these circumstances, the presence of neither of us *ought* to be necessary. We are once more at peace; I mean in the city of Baltimore. The conduct of the mob is most unmercifully condemned and discussed; and the leaders are, in truth, though they keep up the best appearances they can, heartily ashamed of themselves. Dr. Commins leaves me to-day, by the water-stage. I direct this to his care, lest you should have left Philadelphia. Though I shall ever feel pleased

in having been introduced to your acquaintance, yet I must regret, on your account, the circumstances under which that acquaintance hath been formed. You will introduce me, though not personally, yet with my best regards, to your lady and your little ones; to hear of their and your happiness will increase mine.

I am, my dear Sir, with great sincerity, your friend and obedient servant,

LUTHER MARTIN.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

To Mrs. Blennerhassett.

PHILADELPHIA, *Nov. 17th*, 1807.

MY DEAR WIFE:—As I expected when I wrote last from Baltimore, this day fortnight, I have found my reception in this city easy and undisturbed. I have been here a week last Wednesday, having arrived the 5th inst. I hope you received that letter to prepare you for a just reception of the accounts that must reach you by the papers of a rising at Baltimore, of which my effigy only was one of the objects.

I am much teased by various causes of detention here which I can not control. The arrangement of my pecuniary claims on Col. Burr, and the acquisition of slaves, neither of them yet effected, are the principal. It is uncertain still how soon I can even hope to leave this town. Many motives incite me to go round by sea, in a fine vessel, with Bollman and other agreeable passengers, to sail about the middle of next week; for there are reasons why

I should not even appear at Marietta, though so many demands call thither. But I yet think that will be my course. I receive the most friendly attentions from my friends, the Lewises, and others.

To-morrow I dine with Mr. Pollock, a gentleman of fortune and great respectability, where Col. Burr has taken up his quarters. I wonder you have not yet drawn upon J. S. Lewis, for any sum not exceeding $500, through Harding. I am at a loss to conceive what you have resorted to, particularly as you call upon me, in your most welcome letter of 28th September, to direct the disposition of about $1,200 you expected to receive on your negro speculation. My only wish is that you should apply the money to your own occasions, calling to the aid of your judgment the advice of that excellent friend whom you will one day further discover I have justly appreciated. Butler, who is now here, made me very unhappy, by telling me he left him very sick, and I sincerely sighed to be at his bedside.

A large fund of stoicism will be necessary to support the want of letters from you till we meet; for I suppose you have, according to directions long since given you, ceased to write; and it would be impossible to instruct you how to direct to me, my change of place will be so variable.

We have to-day a heavy fall of snow here, and I fear I shall not be able to take water on the Ohio before it breaks up. This, with other considerations, lends much to determine me upon the voyage by sea to New Orleans. But I can not make up my mind until I again see D. Commins, whom I hourly expect here from Baltimore,

with whom I must endeavor to procure some negroes, or by some other means, as I can not think of returning without some new ones, or at least our old ones from Ohio.

I live here at the Mansion House Hotel, late Bingham's, in Third Street, kept by an Englishman in the best style I have yet seen in America. My expenses are heavier than I wish, on every account, but I have become so public a character, any thing tending to shabbiness or obscurity would bring discredit upon you, to avoid which I know you would prefer a larger share of future sacrifices. The company are genteel and numerous, principally foreigners, and not a Democrat in thirty, the general number at the house.

My silence on your recovery and the health of the boys arises from inability to express my joy and thanksgiving to God. But I beseech you to seek the utmost change of company and occupation. Nothing can better insure my hopes of finding you re-established in your constitution; and every day's experience convinces me of the wisdom and facility of not only mitigating the ills of life, by resolving to contemn their mischief, but even of our capability to be happy in spite of them. Without disappointing contrary conclusions you would draw from our separation, I could give you many examples, during my reverses, since I left you; but you will hereafter find them with more satisfaction in my notes. I shall only add, that you should never forget that a steady pursuit of gaiety will prove the best prescription for the longest enjoyment of the summer season, and prepare the largest and most serene autumn of life. We have prospects

already opened to you that beckon us to wealth and repose; if they should prove delusive, our piety and moderation will insure tranquillity.

I am much at a loss to know how to buy any thing here for you. I shall, however, procure some things. I have rigged myself out in consideration of the extravagant prices of things at Natchez; and have not forgotten the boys' shoes, though God knows when they will get them, and I can badly guess the sizes. I could tell you a good deal of what might pass for news with you, but it is not worth while, and could not find room here. I must not refuse, however, to mention that I have heard here young Michael de Courcy is married to a rich lady in England, and has a child or two. The Admiral's *daughter* is *married* to a Captain Dashwood, of the Navy. I learned no other particulars of the family. Wilkinson, I hear, has taken passage from Baltimore for New Orleans, contrary to every expectation I could form, which I mention as a circumstance, if true, not quite indifferent to my future tranquillity on the Mississippi.

You forgot to put Kitty Percy's, and your own, hair into your letter, with the boys' drawings. The disappointment, I hope, has not arisen from my knowing how to prize both. How happy I should feel, hereafter, in the pleasure Miss P. might enjoy, and confer upon us, by making a trip with us to Europe. Burr has given notice to the Marshal of Virginia, to be *prepared* with a guard of *gentlemen* at Richmond, to conduct him from thence, on the 16th of next month, to Chillicothe; but some intervention or other, I apprehend, will prevent that journey. Harding will smile at this; but let him mourn

over the misery of talents without strength of nerve or energy of character, which have only shone to consume the fame of the Chief Justice, who has disappointed every lawyer and friend he possessed, and may possibly fall a sacrifice to the mob government of the day, for attempting to stroke, while he should have muzzled, the tiger of Democracy. Remind H——g continually of my attachment; and assure the Scotts, Major Trask, and all other friends, of my warm regards. War direct with Britain is even yet the dread of the Democrats; but should it happen in six months afterward, down fall Jefferson and company.

From your husband, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

To Aaron Burr, Esq.

MANSION HOUSE, PHILA., *Nov. 28th*, 1807.

SIR:—I have reflected, with much concern, on an observation which fell from you yesterday; namely, that my account was not a small one, and that you had not yet *examined* it. You may recollect, when I presented it to you at Richmond, I told you I had vouchers for most of the items it contained; to which I will now add, that I can substantiate the whole, whenever it may become necessary; and, on receiving it from me, you said you were satisfied it was correct, and wanted to see no vouchers. If I have misunderstood you, on either of these occasions, I shall expect to hear from you in the course of this evening, with a statement of your objections, if any, to my charges.

The exact amount of my demand, on account of my indorsement of the bills upon which I have been sued by Miller, I can not immediately ascertain. I believe the damages are £10, chargeable with interest, as well as the principal, from the time the bill was returned.

In the close of the late interesting intercourse that has so long subsisted between us, you must perceive, sir, I feel myself released from the performance of an offer I made you of introductory letters to the Lords Elgin, Courtenay and Sackville. I feel that I could not solicit their attentions to you as my friend; and I should wish to decline doing so on any other grounds.

I am, sir, with all respect and consideration, your obedient servant, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

To Mrs. Blennerhassett.

PHILADELPHIA, *Nov. 30th*, 1807.

MY DEAR WIFE:—I have just closed a trunk which, with a box, a bundle of coach-harness and a demijohn of lamp oil, will leave to-day by the brig *Mary*, directed to you to the care of Lenlow, Turner & Co. In the bottom of the trunk you will find two small volumes of my notes, intended for *no* eye at Natchez but Harding's and your own. You will, therefore, when not in *your* hands, always keep them under *lock and key*. The ducks are to be put upon water, and the pointed end of the magnet brought near their beaks to make them approach you; the blunt end will make them recede. Keep the magnet from wet, and do n't let it fall.

I hope you will soon safely receive the things I sent before me, which I will follow as soon as I can; but I find it impossible to avoid going to Marietta, without irreparable prejudice to our affairs, and I think it better to be a month longer away before we meet, than to have to leave you again in August, which might probably happen if I did not appear in Ohio, where I may prevent the finding of other bills against me, or otherwise get rid of the criminal proceedings against me altogether. I therefore set out at 4 o'clock to-morrow morning, in the Pittsburgh coach, and shall not delay to write to you from thence or from Marietta.

As you will observe by my notes, I apprehend I have broken with Aaron Burr on a writ, and shall succeed that way, since all others have failed to secure a demand upon him of $8,000, as you shall better understand hereafter.

You may depend upon my exertions to get upon the water as speedily as the season and my circumstances will permit. I shall give charge of the key of the trunk to the Captain of the *Mary*, or Doctor Bollman, who goes passenger in her. I have told him he is recommended to your polite attention, if he should visit Natchez, as he proposes to do; but beware of the most insidious influence of his manners and address, as they are irresistible by ordinary minds.

It is already reported in the best circles here, that I have become a friend to Jefferson. This *is* amusing, and may be very serviceable.

I have not time to add more, as the mail is near closing. Tom. Buller is to travel with me as far as Carlisle.

From your husband, HAR. BLENNERHASSETT.

MARIETTA, *Dec. 17th*, 7, P. M., 1807.

DEAR WIFE:—I have been here since Tuesday morning, and find appearances of every sort infinitely more flattering than I had expected. Col. Cushing has been up to see me, and will not leave me before noon to-morrow. I have an opportunity, by the favor of —— Wilkins, on his way to Natchez, of speedily informing you I shall endeavor to fly from the declining storm of Jacobin malice in eight or ten days, if the waters will favor my escape. But if they do not, you may be assured I have nothing to fear at Chillicothe, where I can overawe the miserable speculations of the marshal, based upon the profits he expects to make of the trials there. I have seen all the negroes, except Ransom and Clara; I think they are well disposed to accompany me, and I shall get them off, with more or less difficulty. I even propose purchasing Daniel, and a family of six heads, for $1,400. I look daily for the arrival of Commins, whom I have joined in fitting out a boat at Pittsburgh. My coming on here without Commins, was to dispatch as much of my business in this quarter as I could, while his detained him some time above. I have only time to add, I have retained Burnet and Baldwin; the former will be a host of law with the decent part of the citizens of Ohio; the latter, a giant of influence with the rabble, whom he justly styled his "bloodhounds," and has in good training to bait Wilkinson, whenever he gives them the scent. God bless you and our dear boys. I hope I shall soon embrace you all in health, if Mr. Wilkins was not mistaken when he informed me he heard by letter from Mr. Elliot, dated in October, you were then well.

Your husband, HAR. BLENNERHASSETT.

To Mrs. M. Blennerhassett.

NINE MILES ABOVE NATCHEZ,
Sunday, Feb. 8th, 6, P. M.

To secure the success of the two objects of my present journey; namely, the conveyance to you of what property I could bring away from the Ohio, and the enjoyment of a few months' repose with you, I have determined not to yield to the hopes or fears with which I have approached you, by leaving my boats until Harding, to whom I have written, may advise me to venture my appearance on shore.

Uncertain whether Dr. Shaw or my other enemies are yet apprised of my having failed to make my personal appearance at Chillicothe, on the 4th of last month, and ignorant how far they may speculate upon whatever news they may have received from that quarter since that period, I am resolved to continue afloat, that I may, at a moment's warning, start with my light keel-boat, and be, in about four hours, beyond the line, about sixty miles below Natchez, whither you can follow with your family and effects by my flat-boat, under the care of my friend Mr. Weaver, who has traveled with me.

If this arrangement takes place, I shall want one of your black men, in lieu of whom I shall leave a boy; and you will also forward to me, or bring with you, such letters from Grand Pré, as can be obtained from Minor, Vidal and Mr. Dunbar.

You may now *privately* make your way to my boat, under the guidance of Mr. Weaver or Honest Moses;*

* A family servant.

one of whom will deliver you this letter. You must not mention my arrival to the boys or servants until I see them, or shall have left the shore.

Heaven grant that I may happily embrace you in health and spirits.

From your husband, HAR. BLENNERHASSETT.

P. S.—I refer you to Moses for all intelligence you may desire upon small matters.

Thus, after the close of this memorable trial, which had occupied the public attention for several months, Blennerhassett returned to Natchez. The continued anxiety attendant on a tedious investigation of the charge of treason, in which character and life were involved; the accumulation of debts; the neglect of domestic interests, and the rapid decline of his resources, were discouragements, indeed, under which stouter hearts might well have sunk without the charge of effeminacy.

The creditors, who had advanced funds upon his obligations, finding his pecuniary affairs becoming daily more embarrassed, were insolent and exacting. Liquidation was demanded; and, when they saw that he neither had the funds to meet them, nor the ability to procure further credit, they pursued him with the precepts of the law, with a rapacity equaled only by their uncharitable invectives. A portion of his library and philosophical apparatus, which had been his amusement in prosperity, and the solace of his darker hours; the remaining furniture possessing value to him, wholly unappreciated by others, were attached and sold at a criminal sacrifice.

His beautiful mansion, together with its surrounding shrubbery, had been regarded and used as public property. Its fair gardens had been destroyed, not less by the hands of the ruthless freebooter than the negligence of his tenants and the floods of the Ohio. Not satisfied with that which might be removed without injury to the freehold, the window-casings were torn out, to procure the leaden weights by which the sashes were raised. Even the beautiful stone roller, used for leveling his grounds, was crushed to pieces, to obtain the iron axles on which it ran. The island itself was extended, by a writ of *elegit*, at the suit of Robert Miller, of Kentucky, who commenced the culture of hemp, and the manufacturing of cordage.

Such is but the every-day lesson of human experience! Such is the sympathy of unfeeling man with the misfortune and distress of his fellow man! To-day he kneels at the shrine of friendship, as the bestial Caliban at the feet of Stephano, and calls the object of its worship, "god;" to-morrow shrinks cowardly from it, and returns his gratitude in foul misdeeds and wanton injuries.

Cotton, at that time, commanded an exorbitant price. Investments in lands adapted to its culture, and slaves to work it, afforded rich returns for the amount of capital employed. Many were turning their attention to it. Blennerhassett conceived it a favorable mode of retrieving his shattered fortune. He therefore concluded a purchase of a thousand acres of land, in Claiborne county, at St. Catherine's, near Gibsonport, Mississippi, and placed upon it a small number of slaves. Here, again, after the varied incidents of two long years, in which he

had been buffeted about, by the whirlwind of uncourted excitement, he found a HOME.

Those accustomed to battle with the vicissitudes of fortune but struggle the greater when encountered by opposing difficulties. On the contrary, those cradled in the lap of ease, are but poorly prepared to meet adversity, unless endowed with unusual perseverance. This latter quality it was not Blennerhassett's fortune to possess. Accustomed not only to the comforts but the elegancies of life, he was a stranger to want. His sleep had never been disturbed by visions of distress; nor his energies excited through cupidity or avarice. It may well be imagined, therefore, that he was but slightly qualified to sustain himself, under his present embarrassments. For him, life had but few attractions, save those that were found in the pursuits of science; and to deprive him of these, was to deprive him of the happiness of existence.

With a full appreciation of her husband's feelings, Mrs. Blennerhassett undertook to aid him in the management of his farm. At the early dawn, she mounted her horse, to convey to the overseer the instructions committed to her charge. In this, however, she never neglected the affairs of her household, or those affectionate attentions to her family, which render the felicities of home bright to the recollection of husband and child, when the memory of all else has perished.

Devereux to Blennerhassett.

LONDON, *Sept. 7th*, 1808.

MY DEAR AND RESPECTED SIR:—This makes my second letter to you since my arrival in this country. In my for-

mer, I acknowledged with gratitude and thanks the receipt of your dear and most welcome letter from Richmond. What trials, what misfortunes, have you not undergone, and your dear and worthy Mrs. Blennerhassett too! But, my friend, though great your misfortunes, what are they when compared to those which the generous and ill-fated Barry family have lately undergone? I am really so overwhelmed with grief at the sad tidings I have had within these few days of that family, that I can scarcely arrange my thoughts so as to be understood. Only think of it, that poor Mrs. Barry, after the demise of her beloved husband in New York, hastened with her only remaining daughter to Madeira, in hopes of preserving her existence by a change of climate; but, alas! it was too late: she died soon after her arrival there; and her poor mother, broken-hearted, is now left the last of her family. This melancholy and deplorable event has awakened all my woes. My dear friend, what is this life, after all?

From the trying afflictions you and your worthy Mrs. Blennerhassett have so lately experienced, I should not thus obtrude my griefs upon you. But they are griefs produced by the sufferings of one of the best of families, and who, with yours, most attract my regards of any in this world. Enough of this painful subject—too painful to dwell upon.

As I mentioned to you in my last letter, I perfectly agree with you in the sentiments you expressed to me from Richmond, and which I have long felt, I assure you. Yes, my friend, from what is past, and from what is gone, never to be recalled again, I could most willingly estrange

myself from this world to share a little content with you in any corner or in any obscurity.

I have already mentioned to you that I failed in my application to this government. They will not even permit me to visit my native country. I, knowing the cause, am not surprised at it; for you must know they intercepted one of O'Connor's letters to me, about three years ago, in which he offered me a flattering rank to enter the French service with him. This offer, though made to aid misfortune more than rebellion, has operated very seriously against me; and, was it not for the precaution I took previous to my leaving the United States, I might now be immured in the Tower. But, my dear friend, the disappointment does not now affect me; for, truly, I never cared so little as to independence in money matters as I do at this moment.

Without adverting to the cause of my inquiry, I asked two or three gentlemen from about Cork as to the persons you have named, but could gain no satisfactory intelligence. Had I been permitted to have gone to Ireland, I should have gone every length in tracing that subject. As I feel extremely anxious to hear from you, and of your estimable lady and children, I entreat you to write me as speedily as possible of your future plans, and where we are yet to meet.

As I can not express to you, my dearest friend, what I feel, I shall end this scrawl with best wishes and regards to you, dear Mrs. Blennerhassett, and my young friend Dominick.

Your most truly attached and distressed friend,

J. DEVEREUX.

P. S.—I do 'nt mean to return to the United States immediately. There is no prospect I should think of the embargo's being very soon raised, unless for a more active scene of operation; and, of course, if so, there could be nothing to engage my attention particularly there; and by remaining here, I am more to myself from the sight of the world. Hoping that you will not omit writing to me by the first opportunity, I am, again,

Yours, most sincerely, J. D.

A remittance of £300 from Ireland, being a balance from Lord Ventry, on the sales of his estates, enabled Blennerhassett to start afresh in his new field of enterprise. The business correspondence between himself and his consignee, Joseph S. Lewis, of Philadelphia, is voluminous, and of but little interest to the general reader, further than showing his efforts were not altogether ineffectual. A few of these only, together with one or two letters from his old friends, are here inserted:

Joseph S. Lewis to Blennerhassett.

PHILADELPHIA, *July*, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR:—On Saturday, I received from Mr. Harding your esteemed letter of the 9th of June, acquainting me with your having consigned your son Dominick to me. I accept this trust with pleasure, accompanied, at the same time, with great anxiety; and you may assure yourself my care of him shall only be second to that of my own children.

Mr. Harding will inform you that the Board of Health

will not permit him to come into the city before the 4th of August, although every one on board the ship was in good health, and that, therefore, they have stopped at Darby, about seven miles from town, where I have been twice to see them, and, yesterday, took Mrs. Lewis with me, who feels all a mother's anxious care, and enters into Mrs. Blennerhassett's feelings on parting with so beloved an object as a son. I have the pleasure to say that I have procured a situation for Dominick, such as I think you would every way approve, if you were here yourself —one equally removed from the bigotry of a monastic education, and the more uncourtly forms of our society. The Academy to which I refer was established, about four years ago, by a number of our most respectable gentlemen, for the education of their own children, and is conducted by two French gentlemen of the name of Carré.

The situation of the school is high, healthy and pleasant, about four miles north of Philadelphia, a distance which will afford me an opportunity of seeing Dominick often, and of bringing him home occasionally to spend a holiday. Mr. Harding being obliged to leave this morning for New York, Dominick has been placed under the charge of a respectable old lady, where I shall see him every day or two until his quarantine is out; after which I shall bring him home, and, as soon as every thing is prepared, place him with Messrs. Carré, who are men of amiable and respectable character, sufficiently rigid to keep their boys within a correct line. Present my best regards to Mrs. Blennerhassett, and also those of Mrs. L.; tell her to dissipate all anxiety about her son, that

Mrs. L. will take upon herself a mother's care, and that my affection for his parents will insure my attention to his comforts, to his wants, and to his well-doing. * * *

Yours, with great esteem, J. S. LEWIS.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

From Thomas Addis Emmett.

NEW YORK, *Sept.* 15*th*, 1809.

MY DEAR BLENNERHASSETT:—It was not without considerable emotion and pleasure that I received yours a few days since by Mr. Harding, and heard from him the first news I had been able, authentically, to collect of your present situation. Of what is past, it is not fit I should say any thing in a communication of this kind; of the future, you will believe me perfectly sincere, when I assure you that your prosperity and happiness will always interest me very strongly. In return for the pleasing intelligence I have had of you, accept similar accounts of me and my family. My success has been greater than I could have calculated upon. My health has been extremely good, and Mrs. Emmett and the children enjoy the prosperity which has succeeded to our trials; such, I trust, will also be the event of your present situation. Mr. Harding mentioned to me that he had brought along with him your oldest son, Dominick, and placed him at an Academy at Germantown, Pennsylvania.

As Mrs. Blennerhassett has brought her mind to part with him, a thought struck me, which I now lay before you. I have three sons at school at Flatbush, Long

Island, five miles from this city, under the care of a Mr. Thompson, who is very competent, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and of very unexceptionable character; his wife is a Mary Anne Connell, cousin to Maurice Connell, of Iveragh; came over here a widow, of the name of Yielding, with strong letters from Kerry friends to Mrs. Emmett, and was married in my house to Mr. Thompson. I have mentioned your son to them both, and can answer that he would be treated with more than common affection and care; and, being at the same school with my own, I should have opportunities of showing him, perhaps, some attention, which, situated where he is, would be out of my power. I am not fond of supplanting a person like his present master, who, I presume, would discharge his duty, but I submit the proposition to your consideration.

Adieu, my dear Blennerhassett. Do you and Mrs. B. receive the best wishes of me and my family for every thing that concerns you, and believe me sincerely

Yours. THOS. ADDIS EMMETT.

From Joseph S. Lewis.

PHILADELPHIA, *Sept.* 22*d*, 1810.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—About ten days ago I received your esteemed letter of 8th August, and I enter with much warmth into your situation and the means proposed for improving it. I have been engaged, in my mind, since its receipt, to contrive some way of meeting your desire of obtaining the sum you want to borrow, but I do not find any one here who is willing to lend money on such

distant security; and even the offer of more than usual interest would serve to introduce in the mind of strangers a doubt of the goodness of the security; and there are none of our money-lenders who would be willing to take the chance of being compelled to go to Ohio or the Mississippi Territory, to look after his payment. I propose, then, that after the sale of your cotton, which we hourly expect from New Orleans, you should draw, in addition to what our advance may then be, as much as will make $5,000, which you shall have at six per cent. interest per annum. You are to consign to us all your cotton for sale, on which we shall charge the usual commission of five per cent. * * * * *

Very respectfully your friend, J. S. Lewis.

From the Same.

Philadelphia, *Dec. 17th*, 1810.

My dear Friend:—Your favor of 14th November I received yesterday, and am much pleased to learn the happy effect of my last letter upon your uneasiness about Dominick, whom I have not seen for a few weeks, but I hear from him frequently; and, a few days ago, I saw Mr. Carré, who said he was well, and spoke favorably of an increased attention to his studies. There is no doubt you can obtain excellent lodgings in the neighborhood of the city, at a moderate rate, say five or six dollars a week each, for Mrs. Blennerhassett and yourself, including board. I suppose your passages would cost $100 each; about half that for your son, and the same

rate for your servants. I should think $1,100 or $1,200 would be an ample allowance for your expenses for a trip of five or six months, bating the temptations such a large shop as our city would afford you to lay out money for luxuries, etc., which, of course, your own prudence would, in some measure, guard you against. On the score of health the jaunt would be desirable, and I shall be glad you make use of any excuse to give Mrs. Lewis and myself the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. Blennerhassett.

Very respectfully your friend, J. S. Lewis.

From the Same.

January 6, 1811.

I can not conceive any reason why the New York market should offer a better price for cotton than ours. It is not quite so steady, and the people are more speculative. If your cotton goes there to our correspondent, we must pay his commission, and we should not be quite so well satisfied of the solidity of the persons to whom sale would generally be made as here.

Your cotton has arrived, but I can not at present effect a sale on such terms as I like. The gloomy prospect of our affairs with England is such, that we do not consider a speculation in cotton as safe, and its value here will also be much affected by the proceedings of Congress regarding the Bank of the United States. If the charter should not be renewed, and there seems much doubt of it, prices of every article will fall very materially. In addition to this, the situation of exchange is such, that bills can no-

be drawn on London without the utmost difficulty, and then at a loss of seven or eight per cent.

The proceeds of your cotton now on hand, and for which at present there is no sale, we estimate at $2,000.

Yours very respectfully, J. S. Lewis.

In viewing the complacency with which Blennerhassett had heretofore regarded Burr's actions toward himself, we are at a loss whether to attribute his silence to the mildness of his temper, or a lack of courage to vindicate his honor from the aspersions of his enemies. But, for his unfortunate alliance with Burr, he might still have reposed in the shady groves of the isle. But for Burr, he might have continued to enjoy those peaceful pursuits for which he had abandoned Castle Conway, to secure a home in the secluded forests of America; but for him, he might yet have enjoyed a competency beyond his wants, and luxuriated in the fields of literature, without the fear of pecuniary distress.

It was not, however, until driven to it by necessity, that Blennerhassett attempted to show how much he had really been injured by the man whom he had regarded and cherished as his friend; but who had now deserted him in the hour of misfortune. Almost bankrupt in purse, with a large family dependent upon him for support, to whom could he look for indemnity for the losses sustained in the enterprise of Burr? He had contributed largely, if not entirely, to the procuring of boats, implements and provisions for the expedition, and, as yet, had received nothing in return. Both Burr and Alston had turned a deaf ear to his petitions for relief; indeed, Burr,

had it been his desire, could afford but poor satisfaction from the meager remains of a once large fortune. Blennerhassett, accordingly, addressed the following letter to Governor Alston:

Blennerhassett to Gov. Alston.

La Cache, Port Gibson, Miss. Ter.,
March 2d, 1811.

Sir:—As a letter from me, after so long a suspension of our correspondence, will probably be as little welcome as expected, I anticipate, on inditing it, only such attention on your part to its object as your reflections may deem consonant to your interest. I proceed accordingly, without further preamble, to apprise you, that having long since despaired of all indemnity from Mr. Burr for my losses, by the confederacy in which I was associated with you and him, I count upon a partial reimbursement from you upon grounds and motives which it is the object of this letter to develop and recall to your recollection. Having mentioned Mr. Burr, I wish you, sir, to observe, that I shall never more consider a reference to his honor, good faith, or resources in any other light than as a scandal to any man offering it who is not already sunk as low as himself. You will therefore feel, I hope, as little disposed to speak, at this day, of his intentions as of his means to indemnify his friends. It is on you, sir, that as regards myself, devolves this duty. The heroic offer you made to co-operate with your person and fortune in our common enterprise, gave you, in my estimation, a color of claim to that succession in empire you boasted you would win by better titles—your deeds of

merit in council or the field. For examples of these exploits, I anxiously invoked the season of their achievement; but I confess, sir, I attached a more interesting value to the tender you so nobly pledged of your whole property to forward and support our expedition, together with your special assurances to me of reimbursement for all contingent losses of a pecuniary nature I might individually suffer. These considerations, sir, as they involved me on your responsibility, naturally refer me to you for the acquittal of it, and possessing such ample powers to discharge it, I flatter myself I shall be able to induce you to the full exercise of them. To this end I now apprise you, that the period has arrived in which I feel myself warranted to tell you, that in virtue of your oral and written assurances to guarantee me against all injuries to my property by reason of my participation in the confederacy of 1806, I finally determined to embark with you, and have thereby sustained damage to the amount of $50,000, of which sum I now demand $15,000, payable at New Orleans or Philadelphia, in August next. The respective sums you have paid already in part discharge of your written obligation, I believe, $12,500, together with the $15,000 now required, will leave a balance of $22,500, which you may, if you please, adjust by your obligation, on receipt of which, if required, I will dismiss my demand against Mr. Burr by suit in Philadelphia.

Here, sir, you perceive is a demand instituted on the guarantee of the good faith of a gentleman, who can never plead specially thereto but out of a court of honor. Within that jurisdiction, he must acquiesce or rely on the

general issue. Your adjusting this affair in the manner proposed, I would, at a certain period of our acquaintance, have suffered no man to question; but the cruel, cold-blooded indifference with which you have so many years beheld a distressed family, in vain endeavoring to collect some fragment of the property embarked and wrecked in the voyage you had insured, without acquitting the debt of your guarantee—such a demeanor, sir, naturally obliges me, as a further and final result of all my labors and deliberations that relate to you to submit to your reflections, other motives of action besides those already offered. These are certainly of a character and complexion I regret it should be my lot to exhibit to the public. To you, however, it belongs to say whether they shall remain shrouded within the sanctuary of your own breast, or stalk forth the heralds of the private treason and public *perjury* they will proclaim infallibly to the honest Democratic electors of South Carolina, who would thence remove you from the chair of their assembly with a different kind of zeal from that through which they placed you in it. Yes, sir, I submit it to your discretion, to keep concealed from your friends and from your country that led you to take part in our confederacy, which you pledged yourself to me to back with all your property, worth, as you stated, 200,000 guineas, to join and support us at New Orleans, at the head of 2,000 to 3,000 men, to leave with me, besides your oral and written guarantee of indemnity for all my losses, a private cipher, the inscrutable vehicle of our correspondence; afterward, to commit the *shabby treason* of deserting from your parent by affinity, and your *sovereign* in *expectancy;*

and then, finally, in your letters to your Governor, to vilify your father-in-law, and perpetrate an open perjury by publicly denying all privity or connection with his views or projects. Assuredly, sir, a picture of this kind, on which I have occasionally worked during the last four years, can not, you must imagine, be viewed by your Democratic friends with less horror than a death's head in a phantasmagoria; and yet, after all my labors, I feel no wish to exhibit it to vindicate my character in associating with Mr. Burr and yourself in the judgment of the mobility of the low people, or to appease the impotent vindictiveness of Mr. Jefferson and his miserable partisans. The fact is, I have survived all the labors of body and mind imposed upon me by the evil genius of Jefferson and of Burr, except the remaining one of exposing both.

But I must bequeath to my children and friends a memorial of that honor, loyalty and courage, to which you and I made our first offerings on entering into the association, but which you did not follow with me in the expedition; such a remembrance, containing sketches of Mr. Burr's cabinet and correspondence with myself and other associates; the history of my interviews and consultations with Mr. Alston, relative to Mr. Burr's designs upon New Orleans and Mexico, with ample references to *letters* and other rare and original documents, that will be lodged in Charleston or Philadelphia, for the inspection of the curious,—the whole, sir, is now ready for the press, but shall not be sent away for publication until you shall have failed to announce your compliance with the engagements of honor herein required

of you, by forwarding a credit for $15,000, payable as before mentioned, and accompanied with your obligation, or some other equivalent proposal, for adjusting the balance. Now, sir, to conclude, you may gather from what you have read, that I hold myself bound by no obligations of secrecy to any one who has broken faith with me, provided the disclosure work no injury to an innocent third person. That you may have full notice, I have no objection, in apprising you of the nature and design of the proposed publication; but to give you an opportunity of keeping it out of view, by discharging the debt of honor you have contracted, whereby, in doing an act of justice, you will prevent the necessity of my selling to the public that detail of infamy and falsehood which you should exclusively purchase; that your past experience of my principles and temper will guarantee the sincerity of these sentiments, and to exemplify this assurance, I promise you, that whether the demand I have made upon you be complied with or not, I will, at any time after publishing my book, which shall be suppressed or expedited by your determination, promptly attend to any call you may think proper to make upon me.

I have to add, that I have no doubt of my book's producing $10,000, if you do not think proper to prevent its appearance. Should you decide in the negative, you may rest assured I shall not, to save the trouble of *smelting*, abandon the ore I have extracted, with such expense of time and labor from the mines, both dark and deep, not, indeed, of Mexico, but of Alston, Jefferson and Burr. I send, besides the original, a duplicate and triplicate of this letter; namely, one directed to Columbia, one to

Charleston, and the third to Georgetown. This is done with a view, by lessening the chances of my letters' miscarrying, to expedite your answer, for which I shall wait double the time necessary to bring it to me in the regular course of the mails.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

COL. J. ALSTON.

The success of his new undertaking animated Blennerhassett in the hope of reclaiming his losses in a very short time. Such, indeed, would have been the result had not the war of 1812, and the embargo which followed, put a decided check to our commercial transactions. Produce, of every description, immediately fell in price, until the commodity would scarce pay the expenses of marketing. A bare subsistence, therefore, was all he could promise himself, until a termination of hostilities between the contending nations.

But misfortunes seldom come singly. It was but a short time previous that he had heard of the fate of his island residence, rented by him to one of his Belpré friends, but who was afterward dispossessed by the Kentucky creditor. As the beauty of the grounds had been entirely destroyed, and the mansion itself much injured, through carelessness and neglect, it had lost its primitive attractions, and was now regarded as a mere convenience in farming. In the year 1811, the tenant raised an unusual quantity of hemp, which was stored in one of the wings of the building. On a very cold night, several of the slaves, who had been permitted to visit their Virginia

friends, overturned the boat in which they were returning, and one of their number was drowned. Suffering under intense cold, they proceeded to the cellar where the spirituous liquors were kept, to obtain the stimulus for counteracting the ill effects of their accident. Passing through the entrance of the hemp-room, to which the stairway led, by accident they communicated the flame of the candle to the hemp, and, in a few moments, the destroying element was beyond their control. Stupid with astonishment, at the awfulness of the spectacle in the darkness of the night, they neglected to apprise the inmates, who would all doubtless have perished, had not some one of them fortunately awakened in time to give the alarm. Escaping, with nothing but their night-clothes and a few articles of furniture, they beheld with awe this beautiful mansion, which, but a few years previous, had been the abode of peace and happiness, adorned with all that could embellish or beautify its appearance, rapidly reduced to a mass of ruins.

From Joseph S. Lewis.

PHILADELPHIA, *March 26th*, 1811.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of 27th ult. has just reached me, and it affords me much pleasure in hearing from you. It would be very gratifying if it were oftener. I regret extremely that you should be thrown back by want of a sufficient capital to work your estate to the best advantage, and I should be extremely happy in offering you an increase of the credit sometime ago granted you; but

even that credit is very inconvenient, in consequence of the uncommon situation of the times. Owing to the charter of the United States Bank having expired, and the severance of our intercourse with England, a total stagnation of business has occurred, and we want all our means to make ourselves comfortable, when our stores are overloaded with goods, etc. Your cotton we have not been able to sell a bale of, and our advances for you, at this moment, are about $8,000. Under all these circumstances I can not encourage you to draw any further, but certainly I will not dishonor those already drawn, and which you have advised as payable at September and January next, and the one to Capt. Vidal of $700, relying that you will, as early as possible, send your cotton down to our friends at New Orleans, with orders to sell it, or send it round here as soon as they can, as we may meet some chance of selling it; and you may be assured, that whenever I can do it, I will extend the credit.

I hope you may succeed in making a sale of your Island. I have recently heard from Mr. Woodbridge, who was in town a few days ago, that your house on the Island was burned down, and it happened in consequence of Miller having stored it with hemp, which took fire from a candle taken in by a negro woman. I most heartily regret this circumstance, which must injure the value of the property; but I should conceive Miller was liable in having done what his lease could not authorize, making a storehouse of a dwelling. As to Alston, there seems no chance of a recovery from him.

Your letter for Dominick I will send to him; he continues in good health, and is improving in his studies.

Mrs. L. and my family are all well. I hope you will be able to make your arrangements in such a way as will enable us to see personally that you and Mrs. B. are so too. Present my best respects, and believe me ever

Yours, JOS. S. LEWIS.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 21*st*, 1811.

DEAR SIR:—Your favors have all been replied to. We have not been able to dispose of your cotton, and the price is nominally thirteen cents. We see no better prospect for what is to come, and we therefore recommend your sending your new crop to Amory Callender, New Orleans, with orders to sell it at once, and remit us as soon as they can. Our political affairs do not promise us much amendment in the article of cotton, and the sooner, therefore, it can be turned into money the better. Dominick is well, and improves in his studies considerably. Your cotton here is still on hand.

JOS. S. LEWIS & Co.

September 7*th*, 1811.

We see no prospect of a rise in the cotton, and would willingly sell yours at twelve cents, if to be had, for there is no use in keeping it. JOS. S. L.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA, *Dec.* 13*th*, 1811.

DEAR SIR:—Your esteemed favor of 19th ult., dated at Natchez, reached us yesterday, and affords us pleasure to

learn that you and your family were recovering from your sickness, which has been so generally fatal upon the Mississippi this year. On the score of confidence in you, we should not decline to accept your bills for any reasonable sum, in addition to what we are already in advance, but these are not times when we can do so without very great inconvenience. Business generally is suspended, and the usual facilities of procuring money are cut off. In fact, two years ago, the advance of $6,000 could not have been so inconvenient as $1,000 now. Our advance now is about $13,000, and taking into view your cotton here, and what we may receive of your next crop, the whole will not amount to $3,600, and this will be a long time first. Under these circumstances, we have concluded not to accept your last bill of $600 to W. Jackson & Co., although the alternative is extremely painful to us; but as there seems a prospect of making sale to Mr. Anthony, of your Island, we shall immediately write to him, and if it should seem likely the business can be concluded in a reasonable time, we will take care that your bill shall not go back. We have given as a reason for non-acceptance, that it is for want of advice. After offering your cotton upon every occasion for sale, without effect, and seeing no prospect of a favorable result by keeping it longer, we have concluded to ship it to Liverpool, and have put it on board the ship *United States*, which being intended for your interest, we have no doubt you will approve. With respect to the present crop, we recommend you to direct to Messrs. Amory, Callender & Co., to make sale of it immediately, and remit at once to us, or, if they can not do this, to lose no time in shipping

it to Liverpool, consigned to Messrs. Leigh & Shellock. Here, it will not sell for more than at New Orleans. Our brother in New York sold a large parcel last week at 10½ cents. We see no prospect of an improvement in cotton while the continent is shut. England has now two years supply on hand, and unless this market is opened to her manufactories, cotton will go down. Dominick is in excellent health, and very contented with his situation. With our best respects to your good lady, and our sincere regards for yourself, we remain,

Your friends, Jos. S. Lewis & Co.

From the House of Jos. S. Lewis & Co.

December 1*st*, 1811.

Agreeably to our annual custom, we wait on you with your account to this date, showing a balance in our favor of $12,150\frac{35}{100}$. We also inclose you, on account of the charges on your cotton, which we have shipped by the *United States*, amounting to $909\frac{27}{100}$, which is included in the above balance. We have no reply to our letter to Mr. J. C. Anthony, concerning the Island.

December 31*st*, 1811.

Your esteemed lines of 1st instant I received on Sunday, and should be very sorry that our private correspondence should be suspended on account of the state of our mercantile affairs. It is true, the advance is particularly inconvenient just now, but I hope soon to hear of your crop reaching New Orleans, and if your correspondent there ship it at once to Liverpool, it may do well, as

the article has risen by the last accounts, and I hope we shipped yours by the *United States* at a favorable moment.

Jos. S. Lewis.

February 22d, 1812.

My dear Friend:—Your few lines of 11th ult., accompanying a letter to the house, lies before me. No circumstance for a long time has given me as much pain as the necessity of staying my hand from any further uncovered advances to you; but I am satisfied, however distressing it may be to you, that you have correctness of mind sufficient to estimate the true reason, and not feel offended at the circumstance. Dominick is well, but has not been in town since his Christmas holidays. I trust what the House have proposed will meet your object, and afford you relief. J. S. Lewis.

H. Blennerhassett, Esq.

Philadelphia, *Feb. 22d*, 1812.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of 11th January has reached us only yesterday, and its perusal has caused us some very unpleasant feelings, in the reflection of your situation, as you now paint it. We would willingly make any sacrifice in reason to help you, but the reasons which induced the refusal of your bill still operate, and with our capital locked up with you, and more largely in other places, we have not the means, without great inconvenience, to advance further. The bill of $600 has gone back, and is now too late to help it, or we would go that step further; but we will do this: Send your cotton to our friends at

New Orleans, with orders to sell the same, if it will bring a price that you think enough, and if it will not, to ship it immediately to Messrs. Leigh & Shellock, of Liverpool, and you may, on its arrival at New Orleans, draw upon us for two-thirds of whatever our friends say would probably be the net proceeds of the cotton if sold at the current price at that time at New Orleans. This, it appears to us, will relieve you, and, at the same time, make us a small payment on account. Your cotton will probably net you 12 cents, which, on 40,000 lbs., is $4,800, two-thirds of which is $3,200, which is about the sum you have stated as being wanted by you to meet your debts and provide for family expenses. You have never mentioned to us what quantity of ground you hold, and the number of your negroes which would be a satisfaction to us to know, that in case of accident to you, these would be something for your family, as well as for us.

We have corresponded with Mr. J. C. Anthony, and prepared to meet him at Washington, to complete the contract. We inclose you copies of his letters to us, by which you will see you are very wide in your idea of the value of the Island; we should think that money is worth more to you than any rise in the property will ever realize, and if he comes near your mark, should accept the offer.

As to the removal of Dominick, on account of the cost of his education, that is quite out of the question, and no more need be said on that business.

It will afford us the highest gratification to learn that the plan proposed meets your view, and will answer your purpose.

We hope for better times, which will enable you to resume that feeling of independence which you so much enjoy; and, in the mean time, we remain, very sincerely,

Your friends, J. S. LEWIS & Co.

H. BLENNERHASSETT ESQ.

We are informed, by his biographer,* that, after the trial at Richmond, Colonel Burr, believing that the political situation of Europe afforded opportunities for accomplishing the object he had long contemplated, of emancipating the Spanish American colonies from the degrading tyranny of Spain, conceived the design of soliciting the aid of some European government in such an undertaking, and that with these views he sailed from New York for England on the 7th of June, 1808.

During the first three months of his residence in London, he made various unsuccessful efforts to approach the English Government, but there were two obstacles in the way, both of which were insuperable. The Spaniards were then resisting the invasion of Napoleon; and the enthusiasm of the British nation in favor of the Spanish patriots, as well as the policy of the British Government, were absolutely opposed to any scheme for separating the colonies from Spain. "But, in addition to this obstacle," continues his biographer, "Colonel Burr, from the moment of his landing in England, was an object of suspicion and distrust to the Government."

He afterward visited Edinburg, where he remained for several months; but the suspicions of the Government

* Matthew L. Davis's Memoir of Burr, Vol. II, p. 412

becoming daily more aroused, he was peremptorily ordered back to London by Lord Melville. Here he was seized, conveyed to Stafford Place prison, and his papers searched. After an imprisonment of two days, he was set at large, with orders to quit the kingdom; but, lingering for a few days, he received a more decided mandate from Lord Liverpool to leave London on the following day, and the kingdom in forty-eight hours.

In April, 1809, he embarked from Harwich for Gottenburgh. On leaving England, his future movements seemed undetermined. He was unwilling, says his biographer, to renounce the projects which carried him to Europe, and all hope from England being ended, he looked next for aid to Napoleon, whose policy, from the resistance of Spain and the preponderancy of the British navy, was now in favor of the independence of the Spanish American colonies. He finally resolved to wait in Sweden until he received advices from America, and then proceed to Paris, to communicate with the Emperor. From Sweden he passed through Germany to Paris, visiting Hamburgh, Hanover, Saxe-Gotha, Weimar and Frankfort. He arrived in Paris in February, 1810. Here he made a long and unsuccessful attempt to obtain an audience of the Emperor. He attributed his failure to the unfavorable representations of Talleyrand and the United States Minister. Several months of neglect and inattention, at length, discouraged him, and he resolved to return home. But here again an unforeseen difficulty presented itself. On applying for a passport to the United States, he was informed by the police that he could not have one to go out of the empire. After four

months' detention, during which time he had exhausted his entire means, he addressed a memorial to Napoleon, praying permission to return home. This also passed without notice. He next addressed notes to Jonathan Russell, American charge d'affaires at Paris, and Mr. McRae, the American Consul, for a certificate of citizenship. Russell thus harshly replies: "The man who evades the offended laws of his country, abandons, for the time, the right to their protection. This fugitive from justice, during his voluntary exile, has a claim to no other passport than one which shall enable him to surrender himself for trial for the offenses with which he stands charged; such a passport will Mr. Russell furnish to Mr. Burr, but no other."

His situation seemed one of almost hopeless despair. In his diary of November 25th, 1810, he writes: "Nothing from America, and really I shall starve. Borrowed three francs to-day. Four or five little debts keep me constantly in alarm—altogether, about two Louis."

"December 1st, 1810.—Came in upon me this morning, just as I was out of bed, for twenty-seven livres. Paid him, which took literally my last sous. When at Denous, thought I might as well go to Pelasgie; set off, but recollected I owed the woman who sits in the passage two sous for a cigar; so turned about to pursue my way by Pont des Arts, which was within fifty paces; remembered I had not wherewith to pay the toll, being one sous; had to go all the way round by the Pont Royal, more than half a mile." *

* Davis's Memoirs of Burr, Vol. II, pp. 423-4.

At length, in July, 1811, a ship being about to sail, in ballast, he received permission to return. He arrived at Amsterdam in August, and, after a delay of a month, embarked for the United States; but the vessel in which he sailed was captured by an English frigate and carried into Yarmouth. The *Vigilant*, for such was its name, and the effects of her passengers were taken possession of by the Government; and as Burr had paid for his passage, and was reduced in funds, he found it necessary to remain for a time in England. Finally, on the 6th of March, 1812, he sailed in the ship *Aurora*, and arrived in New York in June, 1812, just four years after his departure from America.

Blennerhassett having instituted proceedings against him at New Orleans, during his absence, to recover some securities which had been pronounced available, and, learning of his arrival, addressed him a communication upon the subject, when the following correspondence occurred:

NEW YORK, *March 8th*, 1813.

SIR:—Your letter of the 24th January has been some days in my hands, and I have been searching but in vain for something to enlighten me as to the nature of the action which you would propose to bring against Wilkins, etc. No objection, however, occurs to me against making the assignment you ask. When you shall inform me of the grounds of the proposed suit, if they shall appear to me to be well founded, and not calculated to produce a reaction on myself, it is probable I may accede to your

wishes without delay, not, however, with any reservation of an interest as you have proposed.

I am, sir, your obedient, A. BURR.

To Aaron Burr.

LA CACHE, PORT GIBSON, *April 16th*, 1813.

SIR:—Perceiving you seem disposed to assign to me your interest in the contract you entered into with Wilkins and Morrison, in 1806, provided "I can enlighten you as to the nature of the action I would bring against them," I hasten to acquaint you that I should prefer suing them directly, in the character of your assignees, for the amount of the advance you made to them, in bills rendered negotiable by my indorsement, to the contingent recovery I might obtain against them as garnishees in a suit already instituted at New Orleans.

Copies of the contract, and of the receipt of Wilkins and Morrison for $15,000, in bills, shall be forwarded to you, and if you think proper, without delay, to transmit me a properly authenticated assignment of all your claims for the above advance, and for damages on account of the non-fulfillment of the contract, I will order the present suit commenced against you at New Orleans to be dismissed. As your letter of the 8th ult. appears to have been dictated by a spirit of accommodation, permit me now, sir, to test its character by suggesting that I have no view "to reaction" upon you in whatever operations I may essay to obtain some indemnity for my losses. These, Governor Alston may have stated to you, I estimate at $50,000, of which his Excellency has already

reimbursed, I believe, $12,500, and it is very probable nothing short of the publication of my book, hitherto postponed only by sickness, will bring me any part of the balance so long sought in vain from his honor and engagements. His well-earned election to the chief executive office of his State, and your return from Europe, will, however, now render the publication more effective than it would have been prior to these events, and it will be expedited within three months from this date, if all other means of indemnity fail within that period. I would still agree to accept from any other source $15,000, in lieu of the balance I claim of $37,500, and, of course, withhold the book, which is entitled, "A Review of the Projects and Intrigues of Aaron Burr, during the years 1805–6–7, including therein, as parties or privies, Thos. Jefferson, Albert Gallatin, Dr. Eustis, Gov. Alston, Dan. Clark, Generals Wilkinson, Dearborn, Harrison, Jackson and Smith, and the late Spanish Ambassador, ————, exhibiting original documents and correspondence hitherto unpublished, compiled from the notes and private Journal, kept during the above period; by H. Blennerhassett, LL. B;" with this motto, which will find applicability in every page of the book: "It is only the Philosopher who knows how to mark the boundary between celebrity and greatness."

You will now, sir, I hope, perceive distinctly upon what terms I would execute a general acquittance to Gov. Alston and yourself. I have long since abandoned every chance of reimbursement from either of you, unless I should succeed in forcing the object through the

alarms of his Excellency, or the fears and interest of other characters. I have only to add, respecting those of Wilkins and Morrison, who have pocketed the money without a consideration, that as an action would not lie by me against *them*, the credit having moved from you to them, after it had passed from me to you, it is therefore I have applied for the assignment desired, which would enable me to sue them directly, which I should prefer to continuing the suit now pending against yourself. Be pleased, sir, to inform me whether Gen. Jackson is or is not indebted to you in a balance of $\$1,726\frac{62}{100}$, as is stated on the face of an open account in his own hand-writing. While he was here with his militia, I had him summoned as a garnishee to the Circuit Court of Adams county, where having made default, if he does not personally appear at the next October term, I understand judgment will go against him for $5,000, that being the sum sworn to in the affidavit on which the attachment was issued.

From, sir, your obedient servant,

H. BLENNERHASSETT.

From Mr. Emmett.

NEW YORK, *August 24th*, 1815.

DEAR BLENNERHASSETT:—I hope, and am willing to believe, that a letter I wrote you now some four or five years since, and which remains unanswered, was never received by you. It was directed in the same way as this, and the uncertainty of its fate makes me wish I knew a more safe and sure direction. I can not, how-

ever, permit the inclosed,* which I have recently received from Ireland, to go forward without accompanying it by a few words from myself.

Mr. Berwick has written to me also, and so far as I can judge, considering your situation, and the almost impossibility of your pursuing your claim, I think the proposal contained in his letter very advantageous. It is very seldom that an opportunity occurs here of learning any particulars respecting individuals in your part of the world; but I have been led to hope that you have found it pleasant and profitable to yourself and family; and I assure you few persons would more rejoice at your prosperity than myself.

Mrs. Emmett presents her best compliments to you, and joins in sincere regards with, dear Blennerhassett,

Yours affectionately, THOS. ADDIS EMMETT.

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* The letter inclosed by Mr. Emmett, was from Mr. Berwick, a solicitor in Dublin, who was engaged to collect information respecting a property in Ireland, called the Bawn estate, to which Blennerhassett was entitled in right of his descent from the Harman family.

CHAPTER XV.

Most, if not all, of the characters involved in the enterprise of Burr have passed from the theater of life; their acts are left to the anxious scrutiny of an impartial posterity. The sanctity of the sepulcher should cover their remains with the mantle of charity. But an account of the origin, and a relation of the circumstances attending the event, may not be unacceptable to the readers of the present day, and will prove a theme of historical interest to those who follow us.

The disaffection which had existed in the West, although greatly diminished by the failure of the designs of the French minister, had never been entirely reconciled. The zeal of the Spanish emissaries received but a temporary check in the abortive attempt of Wilkinson and Miro. Wilkinson was yet a pensioner of Spain, and an officer of rank in the American army. Miro had been gratified in his long-cherished wish to return to the mother country, and the Baron de Carondelet had succeeded to the government.

In the year 1795, Governor Gayoso ascended the Mississippi with a detachment of the King's troops, destined to erect and garrison the fort of San Fernando de las Barancas. Thence he proceeded to New Madrid, and held an interview with Don Thomas Portell relative to

the affairs of the western country. It was resolved to send Thomas Power with important dispatches to General Wilkinson. Power had twice before been intrusted with similar important missions. In 1794, he had penetrated Kentucky as a Spanish spy on the movements of Genet, and had also accompanied the captive Spaniards, who had robbed and murdered Owen, the bearer of six thousand dollars from the Spanish Government to Wilkinson, it being the pension granted by the Court at Madrid to him and other Spanish-American emissaries in Kentucky.

Power proceeded up the river in a pirogue, as far as Red Banks, whence he diverged across the country to Cincinnati, and, after numerous delays, occasioned by sickness, reached Lexington on the 8th of October. Here he found Wilkinson, to whom he delivered his dispatches and the verbal messages which had not been committed to writing. As yet, Power had been but partially admitted to the secret, but Wilkinson now disclosed the whole design, which embraced a separation of the Western from the Eastern States.

As a means of effecting this, among other plans, it was proposed that the mouth of the Ohio should be formidably fortified; that the works to be erected should be of sufficient strength to arrest the progress of an army for an entire campaign; that in its construction Kentuckians only were to be employed—this, it was presumed, would dissipate national prejudices and patronize the citizens of the respective governments. The manufacture of necessary ordnance was to be carried on in the district of Kentucky. The establishment of a bank, with a capital

of one million of dollars, the directors of which were to be chosen from the most distinguished and leading men of the country, was expected to wield an irresistible influence over the public councils and private sentiments of the Territory. Money was to be conveyed by packing it in barrels of coffee or sugar, unknown to the parties transporting it, and effectually concealing it from public observation. Under no circumstances was the fort of San Fernando to be surrendered by Spain, as such an act would lessen her importance and invite the rapacity of the American Government. As the seeds of approaching rupture had already been sown, it was important that additional fortifications should be erected, and an increased number of Spanish agents distributed through the disaffected districts, with a sufficiency of funds for any and every emergency. General Clark and his adherents, who were involved in the intrigues of the French and in the pay of the French Republic, were to be transferred to the service of Spain, with promises of greater emoluments, and equal participation in benefits. New Madrid was designated as a depositary for the munitions of war, of which an adequate supply was to be kept always on hand.

Power was directed by Wilkinson to proceed to the French settlement, at Gallipolis, to sound the disposition of the people, who, it was conjectured, were favorable to the measure, and were willing to proclaim their independence whenever, by concert of action, on the part of other districts, the act should be deemed available. From thence he was to proceed to Red Bank, where he should meet Sebastian, Innis, Murray and Nicholas, whom he

was to convey to the mouth of the Ohio, where Gayoso was in waiting to receive them.

Having performed this mission, Power again reached New Madrid, where, purchasing a pirogue for the accommodation of his companions, toward the beginning of December, he set off for the Red Banks.

On his arrival he found Sebastian only, as Innis had been detained at home through indisposition; Nicholas, through fear that his absence from court might occasion suspicion; and Murray, in consequence of his habits of dissipation, rendering him incompetent for business. Sebastian had already engaged a passage in a flat-boat, and the two set out for the mouth of the Ohio. Here they found Gayoso encamped on the opposite bank of the river, where he had been amusing himself in constructing a small triangular fort, more for the purpose of eluding suspicion than from any necessity the occasion demanded. Wilkinson's dispatch, in cipher, was delivered by Power to Gayoso; a conference between Sebastian and himself was held; and, after a detention of several days by rain, the whole party descended to Natchez, where they were hospitably entertained by Gayoso at the Government House.

Sebastian had been invested with plenary powers to co-operate with Gayoso in perfecting the plans of Wilkinson and his Spanish associates. Power proceeded in advance to New Orleans, whither he was soon followed by the Governor and Sebastian.

The succeeding spring, the latter, accompanied by Power, sailed for Philadelphia, to reconnoiter the route across the Alleganies. Proceeding as far as Shippens-

burg, they placed their baggage in a wagon, and continued their journey to Red Stone on foot. Here they embarked in a flat, bound to Cincinnati, where they arrived about the middle of May. At this point the two separated, Sebastian descending to Louisville and Power proceeding to Greenville, then the head-quarters of Wilkinson.

Wilkinson had but recently learned of the arrival, at New Madrid, of a large sum of money, forwarded from the authorities in Louisiana, and requested Power to proceed immediately thither, and have the same safely delivered in Kentucky. Power, having satisfactorily performed the mission, by delivering it to Philip Nolan, the accredited agent of the General, returned to New Orleans. *

But Power was not destined long to remain inactive. He had proven himself an adroit and energetic agent, and stood high in the estimation of the Spanish Government. In 1797, he was again intrusted with a similar mission to Kentucky. Among others, he presented his scheme to George Nichols, an attorney at Lexington, who, Wilkinson had informed him, was favorable to Spanish interest. But no sooner had he disclosed his designs than Nichols rebuked him for his impertinence, and spurned the idea of receiving foreign gold. Power, finding but little encouragement in Kentucky, sought an interview with Wilkinson, then at Detroit. He was received by the General with cold civility; nay, with haughty abruptness. This was in public. In private he

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II, Appendix No. 45.

whispered, "we are both lost, without being able to derive any advantage from your journey." Rumor had connected him with the Spanish intrigue. Power was known as a Spanish spy, and Wilkinson had been often observed in conference with him. His complicity with the authorities of Louisiana had been the subject of a communication from Wayne to Washington; and Ellicott, the commissioner, was instructed to watch him. Through the medium of a person in the service of the Governor-General, Ellicott had learned of the mission of Power, and of the instructions with which he was charged. As they disclose a plan similar, in many respects, to that of Burr, and as there is now but little doubt that it was, at least, suggestive, it is here inserted for future illustration. After stating the ostensible object of his visit to be the adjustment of the difficulties and securing the delay of the Spanish Government, in surrendering to the United States of the forts of Walnut Hills and Natchez, under the second article of the treaty, of which fortifications Wilkinson had previously advised the Baron de Carondolet he was preparing to take forcible possession, the instructions proceed:

"The second object of your commission, which no one must penetrate, and for which reason you must retain in your memory, is to sound and examine the disposition of the people of the Western States, whose militia, it is reported to me, has received orders to march on the first advice; and, in case that be true, you will inform the commandant of New Madrid of it, by the first opportunity you find. But, in order not to render yourself suspected, you will content yourself with putting the

date of your letter at the bottom, and will only treat of indifferent subjects. If hostile preparations are making, you will put before your signature a stroke like that which freemasons use, and which you see at the bottom of this letter; the number of dots above will designate that of thousand men, and that below, the hundreds of which this expedition is to be composed. You will point out the number of pieces of artillery by a number of points placed in your flourish, according to your custom, the points on the left signifying tens, and those on the right units. This letter will be immediately sent me by the commandant of New Madrid, in consequence of the orders I shall give him. On your journey, you will give to understand adroitly, to those persons to whom you will have an opportunity of speaking, that the delivery of the posts, which the Spaniards occupy on the Mississippi, to the troops of the United States, is directly opposed to the interests of those on the West, who, as they must one day separate from the Atlantic States, would find themselves without any communication with Lower Louisiana, from whence they ought to expect to receive powerful succor in artillery, arms, ammunition and money, either publicly or secretly, as soon as ever the Western States shall determine on a separation, which must insure their prosperity and their independence; that for this same reason, Congress is resolved on risking every thing to take these posts from Spain; and that it would be forging fetters for themselves to furnish it with militia and means which it can only find in the Western States. These same reasons diffused abroad, by means of the public papers, might make the strongest impres-

sion on the people, and induce them to throw off the yoke of the Atlantic States; but, at the very least, if we are able to dissuade them from taking part in this expedition, I doubt whether the States could give law to us, with such troops alone as they have now on foot.

"If a hundred thousand dollars, distributed in Kentucky, could cause it to rise in insurrection, I am very certain that the minister, in the present circumstances, would sacrifice them with pleasure; and you may, without exposing yourself too much, promise them to those who enjoy the confidence of the people, with another equal sum to arm them, in case of necessity, and twenty pieces of field artillery. You will arrive without danger, as bearer of dispatches for the General, where the army may be, whose force, discipline and dispositions you will examine with care; and you will endeavor to discover, with your natural penetration, the General's disposition. I doubt that a person of his character would prefer, through vanity, the advantage of commanding the army of the Atlantic States to that of being the founder, the liberator, in fine, the Washington, of the Western States. His part is as brilliant as it is easy. All eyes are drawn toward him. He possesses the confidence of his fellow-citizens and of the Kentucky volunteers. At the slightest movement the people will name him the General of the New Republic; his reputation will raise an army for him, and Spain, as well as France, will furnish him the means of paying it. On taking Fort Massac, we will send him, instantly, arms and artillery; and Spain, limiting herself to the possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, as far as Fort Confederation, will cede to

the Western States all the eastern bank to the Ohio, which will form a very extensive and powerful republic, connected by its situation and by its interest with Spain, which, in concert with it, will force the savages to become a party to it, and to confound themselves in time with its citizens. The public is disconcerted with the new taxes; Spain and France are enraged at the connections of the United States with England; the army is weak and devoted to Wilkinson; the threats of Congress authorize me to succor, on the spot and openly, the Western States; money will not then be wanting to me, for I shall send, without delay, a ship to Vera Cruz in search of it, as well as of ammunition. Nothing more will consequently be required but an instant of firmness and resolution to make the people of the West perfectly happy. If they suffer this instant to escape them, and that we should be forced to deliver up the posts, Kentucky and Tennessee, surrounded by the said posts, and without communication with Lower Louisiana, will ever remain under the oppression of the Atlantic States.

"If you represent forcibly these reasons to Wilkinson, Sebastian, La Casagne, etc., and if you diffuse these notions among the people, gaining by promises, which shall be fully realized, the best writers, as Breckenridge and others, you will be able to effect the most fortunate and most glorious commotion; you will cover yourself with glory, and you may expect the most brilliant fortune; if, on the contrary, you should fail in this commission, it will not deprive me of the opportunity of obtaining for you, from the minister, an appointment which will render you independent of hatred or jealousy."

When Wilkinson, therefore, found himself publicly approached by Power, he conceived it prudent to dissemble, to cast from himself any suspicions which this visit of Power might have occasioned. Hence he informed him that the Executive had given orders to the Governor of the North-West Territory to arrest him, and send him to Philadelphia; that there was no other resource of escape but by permitting himself to be conducted under guard to Fort Massac, and from thence to New Madrid. With reference to the Baron's instructions he said, that the project was chimerical; that the inhabitants of the Western States, having obtained by treaty all they desired, would not wish to form any other political or commercial alliances; that they had no motive for separating themselves from the interests of the other states of the Union, even if France and Spain should make them the most advantageous offers; that the fermentation which had existed four years back was then appeased; that the depredations and vexations which American commerce suffered from the French privateers had inspired them with an implacable hatred for their nation; that some of the Kentuckians had proposed to him to raise three thousand men to invade Louisiana, in case war should be declared between the United States and Spain; that the latter had no other course to pursue, under the circumstances, but comply with the recent treaty which he declared had overturned all his plans, and rendered useless the labors of more than ten years. As for himself he had destroyed his ciphers, and burned his correspondence with the Spanish Government; that duty and honor did not permit him to continue it, and that the Governor of

Louisiana ought not to be apprehensive of his abusing the confidence which he had placed in him. He added, that Spain, by delivering up to the United States the territory of Natchez, might, perhaps, name him governor of it, and that then he would not want opportunities to take more effectual measures to comply with his political projects.*

These facts disclose the continued complicity of Wilkinson with the Spanish Government, long after his appointment as Brigadier-General of the American forces in the West, and at and after the death of Wayne, upon which event he became Commander-in-chief.

A descent upon Mexico, on the part of many of the Spanish American settlers, was a subject of secret agitation during a period of years prior to the cession of Louisiana to France. "The emigration from the western part of the United States," writes Don Luis de Peñalvert y Cardenas, Bishop of Louisiana, in 1799, "and the toleration of our government, have introduced into this colony a gang of adventurers who have no religion, and acknowledge no God. They have made much worse the morals of our people, by their coming in contact with their trading pursuits."

"The adventurers I speak of have scattered themselves over the districts of Attakapas, Opelousas, Ouachita and Natchitoches, in the vicinity of the province of Texas, in New Spain; they employ the Indians on their farms, have frequent intercourse and conversation with them, and impress their minds with pernicious maxims, in har-

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 54.

mony with their own restless and ambitious temper, and with the customs of their own western countrymen, who are in the habit of saying to such of their boys as are distinguished for a robust frame, while patting them on the shoulder, '*you will be the man to go to Mexico.*'"*

Since the year 1785, the United States had aimed at taking possession of Natchez and all the Territory which had been assigned to them by the treaty of 1783. Spain had persistently opposed the measure, and, through her emissaries in the western provinces of the Union, and her protracted negotiations, had succeeded in suspending the hostilities with which she was afterward threatened. Until the year 1797, she successfully eluded the claims of the American Government, when she was compelled to accede to its demands, in order not to expose herself to the loss of the whole of Louisiana.

As the Americans had now become in possession of the new frontiers, it became more than ever urgent to secure to the Spanish Government an effectual barrier for the protection of Mexico. There were two ways suggested by which this object was to be accomplished;† first, to establish in Louisiana a population sufficiently large to defend her against any aggression; second, to form a union with Kentucky and the other districts of the West, with the obligation, on their part, to serve as a rampart against the United States.

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* Gayarre's Hist. Louisiana, Vol. III, p. 408.

† M. de Pontalba to the First Consul of the French Republic.—Gayarre, Vol. III, p. 410.

In a memoir addressed to the First Consul of France, by M. de Pontalba, who had been directed to collect information on the resources of Louisiana, he says: "All this proves that the only commercial outlet for their produce is the Mississippi; that Louisiana can never cease to be the object of their ambition, as they depend on her in the most absolute manner; that their position, the number of their population, and their other means, will enable them to invade this province whenever they may choose to do so; and that, to preserve her, it is necessary to conciliate and control them by keeping up intelligences with the most influential men among them, and to grant them privileges until this province be sufficiently strong to defend herself with her own resources against the torrent which threatens her. Should its waters be let loose, there is no doubt but that they would sweep every thing on their passage; for the Kentuckians, single-handed, or allied with the inhabitants of the neighboring districts, may, when they choose, reach New Orleans with twenty or thirty thousand men, transferred on large flat-boats, which they are in the daily habit of constructing, to carry their produce to market, and, protected by a few gun-boats, loaded with more provision than they need. The rapidity of the current of the Ohio, and of the other waters which discharge themselves into it, makes it an easy undertaking; and the paucity of their wants would accelerate its execution. A powder-horn, a bag of balls, a rifle, and a sufficient provision of flour—this would be the extent of their military equipment. A great deal of skill in shooting, the habit of being in the woods and of

enduring fatigue—this is what makes up for every deficiency." *

Again, he remarks, "what entitles Louisiana to peculiar attention is the fact of her being a port in the Gulf of Mexico, where no other power than Spain has any; but what gives her still more value is, her position in relation to the kingdom of Mexico, whose natural barrier is the Mississippi.

"It is necessary to make this barrier an impehetrable one. It is the surest means of destroying forever the bold schemes with which several individuals in the United States never cease filling the newspapers, by designating Louisiana as the high road to the conquest of Mexico, particularly ever since the occurring of differences with regard to its limits."

Pontalba advised that peace should be observed between France and the United States; for otherwise the inhabitants of the West would precipitate themselves upon Louisiana, and wrest it by force from the dominion of France. This, he declared, had been the policy of Spain since 1797. "It was assisted in this policy," he says, "by a powerful inhabitant of Kentucky,† who possesses much influence with his countrymen, and enjoys great consideration for the services he has rendered the cause of liberty when occupying high grades in the army of the United States; who, from that time, has never ceased to serve Spain in all her views, *and who will put the same zeal at the command of France*, because he thinks,

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* Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. III, p. 410.

† General Wilkinson.

with reason, that an intimate union between her and Louisiana is more advantageous to his country, Kentucky, than its present relation with the United States." *

M. de Pontalba discloses the fact that he also had been in secret conference with Wilkinson, who had imparted to the French agent his knowledge of the policy and designs of Spain, and his own complicity with the Spanish authorities. "This individual," he continues, "whose name I shall not mention, in order not to expose him, but which I shall make known when his services are wanted, came to New Orleans in 1787. He informed the Spanish Government of the state of things then existing in Kentucky and the adjoining districts, and of the efforts which the inhabitants of those provinces were making to obtain their independence and the free navigation of the Mississippi. He also declared that there was a general disposition among the people to place themselves under the protection of Spain, should Congress refuse to do justice to their claim.

"It is on that refusal that this inhabitant of Kentucky had founded all his hopes, and, in that case, he had offered to declare himself the vassal of his Catholic Majesty. He proceeded as such to give information of all that the inhabitants of that region would undertake for or against Louisiana, in order to increase our strength. It was with this disposition he went back."

In a note at the bottom of the manuscript he adds: "Four times, from 1786 to 1792, propositions were made to Kentucky and Cumberland to attack Louisiana; and

* Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. III, p. 414

every time this same individual caused them to fail, through his influence over his countrymen. I make these facts known to show that *France must not neglect to enlist this individual in her service.*" *

A minute detail of events, which occurred subsequent to these transactions, and prior to the organization of the Burr expedition, belongs more particularly to the province of history. Taken in connection with the facts afterward developed, they point unerringly to Wilkinson, as the author of that famed event. From the year 1787 to within a brief period preceding the movements of Burr, he has been shown to have been closely allied to the interests of the Spanish crown. He had not only secretly advocated disunion, but was undoubtedly a pensioner of the Spanish Court. From his intimacy with the affairs of Louisiana, and the designs of Spain and the French Republic, his intelligence upon all subjects involving the interests of either, was seldom surpassed by those of their own officials. A life of restless activity, an intimacy with the inhabitants, both of the western country and Louisiana; a thorough knowledge of the topography of the country and the routes which penetrated the Spanish dominions; a lust for power and position, with an unholy ambition for wealth, at the sacrifice even of honor, integrity and patriotism; a cultivated talent for intrigue and a dissembler in national diplomacy, with a spirit of adventure, which time had not subdued, and surrounded by restless spirits, to whom war was preferable to repose, he stood unrivaled as a leader of predatory incursions and revolutionary leagues.

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* Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. III, p. 414.

He was known to be the intimate friend and companion of Burr. They had served in the revolutionary struggles together. On the fatal occasion of the fall of Hamilton, he had been among the first to rally to the support of the declining popularity of his early associate. He had spent the winter preceding the close of Burr's Vice-Presidency, at Washington, and secured his agency in procuring the governorship of Louisiana. He had held secret counsels with him, introduced to his acquaintance many of his personal friends, and, as Burr repeatedly alleged, detailed to him all the information he possessed respecting Mexico, and pointed out the facilities which would probably be offered by the inhabitants in effecting a revolution. As has been related in a former chapter, on his first visit to the West, Burr visited Wilkinson, by whom he was most graciously received, and furnished with letters of introduction to many of the energetic and influential characters of the South and West.

The project of a dismemberment of the Union, and the annexation of the trans-Allegany Territory to Louisiana, can not therefore be said to have originated with Burr. It was a subject of almost constant agitation in the country for more than fifteen years prior to his undertaking, and, at one time, embraced many leading supporters in the West. Nor was the invasion of Mexico a startling proposition, now for the first time advanced, for it too had its advocates, and preceding the purchase of Louisiana, by the United States, might have been successfully carried into execution.

There was another scheme, however, which had but recently before been originated, and which, perhaps, aided

more than all others in giving it vitality and setting it on foot.

The provinces of South America had long felt a desire to resist the authority of Spain. Miranda, a bold and energetic leader, with other of his fellow-patriots, had conceived the design of overthrowing the Spanish dynasty, and establishing, on its ruins, an independent republic. He hoped to procure, as allies, in this herculean undertaking, both the United States and Great Britain. With that view, he visited this country, in 1797–'8, and sought the acquaintance of the most distinguished Americans. Knox and Hamilton, who stood high in influence and official station, favored his project. He afterward proceeded to England, and presented himself to the British ministry. They entered into his views. The proposition was that the United States should furnish ten thousand troops, and, in that event, the British Government agreed to supply the necessary funds and ships to carry on the expedition. From several communications addressed by Miranda to General Hamilton, it appears that the auxiliary land forces were to be exclusively American, and that of the navy, English. The enterprise would, doubtless, have proceeded, had not the elder Adams, who was at that time President, declined entering into the arrangement.

At the period of the commencement of the expedition, various favorable circumstances rendered the undertaking apparently auspicious. The difficulties with Spain, before alluded to; the restlessness and disaffection of many of the officers and soldiers of the regular army in the West, who had become tired of a life of inactivity

and ease, where there were no amusements to while away their vacant hours, nor fields of battle from whence to pluck the never-fading laurels of conquest; a lack of harmony, not only between the civil and military authorities, but in the ranks of the military themselves; all these considerations might well have flattered Burr that the fates were favorable to the adventurer. "Indeed, I fear treachery has become the order of the day," writes General Jackson to Claiborne. "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark." The facetious McKee, in a communication to Wilkinson, remarks:—"Your letter found me far gone in the blue devils, doubting whether I had better expatriate myself, and try my fortunes amid the storm now gathering in Europe; however, *nil disperandum Teucro duce auspice Teucro.* I'll remain here till X'mas."

An extensive correspondence with various distinguished characters of the country, assured Burr of their countenance and co-operation, in the event of a war with Spain. Wilkinson writes him, under date of October, 1805: "I fear Miranda has taken the bread out of your mouth." Wilkinson's regular force consisted only of about six hunded men, around which the followers of Burr were to form. These, in fact, were the only disciplined corps relied on. It is said the commander had pledged himself to strike the blow, whenever it should be deemed expedient. All that was wanting, with him, was a pretext for the commencement of hostilities against Spain. "On his suggestion, Daniel Clark twice visited the country. He held conferences, and effected arrangements, with many of the principal military officers, who engaged to

favor the Revolution. The Catholic Bishop, resident at New Orleans, was also consulted, and prepared to promote the enterprise. He designated the priests of the order of Jesuits as suitable agents, and they were accordingly employed. The bishop was an intelligent and social man. He had been in Mexico, and spoke with great freedom of the disaffection of the clergy in South America. The religious establishments of the country were not to be molested. Madam Xavier Tarjcon, superior of the Ursuline nuns at New Orleans, was in the secret. Some of the sisterhood were also employed in Mexico. So far as any decision had been formed, the landing was to have been effected at Tampico." *

Daniel Clark engaged to advance, for the purpose of the expedition, $50,000; but, being disappointed, was unable to furnish it. Murray, the British Plenipotentiary, resident in the United States, was consulted on the subject. He communicated to his Government the project of Burr. Col. Williamson, the brother of Lord Balgray, was dispatched to England on the business; and, from the manner of his reception and the encouragement he received, it was expected that a British naval squadron would have been furnished for the enterprise.

But of all the devices which his ingenuity suggested, there was none so startling as his intrigue with the Spanish minister. Spain, although having surrendered her dominion in Louisiana to France, who, in turn, had ceded that Territory to the United States, still held possessions in Florida. She yet cherished her old resentments against

* Davis's Memoirs of Burr, Vol. II, p. 382.

the American Government, and would have willingly co-operated to effect a severance of the Union. A protracted and angry correspondence between the plenipotentiaries of both governments had given rise to much acrimony of feeling; and an open rupture, if not an immediate resort to arms, seemed almost inevitable. It was at this juncture of affairs that Burr, having become familiar with her former intrigues through Wilkinson, dispatched De Pestre, his confidential agent, to Yrujo, the Spanish minister, offering the services of himself and followers to the cause of the Spanish crown. Proposals were made that Spain should furnish the means and arms, while the forces were to be supplied by Burr.

Yrujo, however, learning, in the mean time, that so far from aiding the cause of his Spanish master, it was merely a device to procure the means and arms to wrest from the possession of the crown its possession in Mexico, withdrew his aid before the negotiations were entirely completed.

"This evening," says Blennerhassett, "De Pestre spent an hour with me, which was passed in a more detailed view of his past concerns with Burr. He gave me a description of the manners and character of Yrujo, who is reconfirmed in his embassy to this country, in spite of all the efforts of the Government for his removal. This minister is, according to De Pestre's portrait of him, a shrewd politician, who pierced the cobweb tissue of Burr's intrigue with him at a single glance. Though he assured De Pestre, who was charged in Kentucky, last October, with a special mission to him, that had Burr opened his designs with frankness, and really projected

a severance of the Union, and nothing hostile to the Spanish provinces, he, Burr, might have had an easy resort to the Spanish treasury and its arsenals, while his confidence would have been safely lodged in the honor of a Spanish nobleman. But Yrujo laughed at the awkwardness with which Burr endeavored to mask his design on Mexico, and expressed his concern for De Pestre's having lost his time in such a service."

Burr was much mortified and annoyed at the penetration of his intended victim, and at the time of his embarrassments on the Mississippi, by Wilkinson, declared, in the presence of Smith and Blennerhassett, that De Pestre should be hung for his ineffectual negotiations.

Twice, as we have seen, Burr visited the West. Wherever he went he spoke disrespectfully of the Government of his country, with the view to facilitate the consummation of his own designs. He represented it as destitute of energy to support or defend our national rights against foreign enemies, and of a spirit to maintain our national character; that, in fact, we had no character at home or abroad. To those in whom he confided, he asserted, that all men of property and influence were dissatisfied with its arrangements, because they were not in a proper situation, to which they were entitled; that with five hundred men he could effect a revolution, by which he could send the President to Monticello, intimidate Congress and take the government of the United States into his own hands; that the people of the Union had so little knowledge of their rights, and so slight an inclination to maintain them, that they would tamely acquiesce in this shameful usurpation. This was addressed to the inhab-

itants of the East. In the West, he sought to arouse their old and long-cherished prejudices. He told them they were in a state of colonial dependence on the Atlantic States, and annually paid millions to the Government, from which they derived no benefit, nor received protection, in return. He urged that a severance of the Union was necessary, and must inevitably take place; that this would not be effected by the operation of natural or of moral and political causes, but as determined by a chain of events; that the destiny of the Republic was fixed, and that this resolution would be accomplished in less than two years. To the world at large, and to those with whom he had not tampered, the object of his enterprise was held forth as a settlement of the Bastrop lands. To some, intimations were dropped of an approaching rupture with Spain, against whose provinces the expedition was intended; and the conquest of Mexico was alluded to. To a few only his real design was developed; but to all, he said, there was a great scheme in view; that the enterprise was a just and honorable one, known and approved by the Government, in which the co-operation of the army was to be expected, in which great wealth was to be acquired, and that it would be fully disclosed at the proper time.

Such were the preparations:—a plan well matured, and auguring success, in the event of a war with Spain; for upon this event alone, let it be remembered, had his principal force consented to join the expedition. As soon, however, as intelligence had been received, that such satisfaction had been rendered, on the part of the Spanish Government, as to obviate the necessity of a resort to

arms, many of the warmest advocates of the plan abandoned their former designs, and turned their attention to scenes less dazzling but more productive of substantial enjoyment. "I had written a great deal," says McKee, "about recruiting in Tennessee, about cutting and slashing and packing dollars, and enjoying *otium cum dignitate*, but '*all our differences being settled with Spain*' knocks all my Utopia to the devil!"

Burr had dreamed too long of the wealth and splendor of the halls of the Montezumas, to resign their captivating pleasures for the tamer scenes of a government in which he was becoming daily more unpopular; and which, he now conceived, viewed his actions with ungrateful suspicions. For years had he cherished the hope of investing himself with the regal power of that ancient kingdom, and transmitting its crown to his latest posterity. For the realization of this, had he sacrificed the comforts of home; traversed the States to the extremes of Florida; often traveling through pathless wildernesses, sometimes without shelter, and occasionally without food, alluring to his standard men of every grade, prompted by every motive of action.

Confident of the aid of Wilkinson, and the forces under his command, he continued his exertions, after every prospect of a war with Spain had ceased. Whatever motive may have influenced the subsequent conduct of that officer, there is but little doubt that he had given Burr the most indubitable assurance of his firm adhesion. In the vagueness of conjecture, charity would, indeed, suggest such reasons for the change, as usually actuates the soldier and the patriot; but, unfortunately opposed

to this conclusion, is his demand of the Spanish viceroy, of the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, "for great pecuniary sacrifices, in defeating Burr's plans, and, Leonidas-like, throwing himself in the pass of Thermopylæ.'

Notwithstanding the suspicions with which his movements were observed by the Government, the acts of the Ohio legislature, and his arrest in Kentucky, Burr still persisted in his measures, giving confidence to his followers by his unflinching determination. Even the proclamation of the President, and of the several Governors within the respective States and Territories along his route, could not deter him. But, when he was informed that the measures adopted by the government for his arrest were through the advice and at the instance of Wilkinson; that *he* had not only proved treacherous by exposing the scheme and magnifying its object, but was the chosen instrument for his arrest; that courage, which had before characterized his actions, completely abandoned him; then, and not till then, did he sink under the accumulated difficulties which beset his path.

He was arrested, tried and acquitted, "but his country refused to believe him innocent. Though stout old Truxton had testified in his favor; though Jackson had seen nothing wrong in Burr's project, the popular voice continued to regard him as a traitor, whom accident alone had prevented from dismembering the Union.

"The real secret of the popular belief is to be found in the character of Burr. In him, the elements which make great and good men were strangely mixed up with those of which we may suppose the spirits of evil to pride themselves. He was brave, affable, munificent, of indomitable

energy, of signal perseverance. In his own person, he combined two opposite natures. He was studious, but insinuating; dignified, yet seductive. Success did not intoxicate, nor reverse dismay him. Turning to the other aspect of his character, these great qualities sunk to insignificance, beside his evil ones. He was profligate in morals, public and private; selfish and artful; a master in dissimulation, treacherous, cold-hearted. Subtle, intriguing, full of promise, he shot upwards in popularity, with astonishing velocity; but a skeptic in honesty, a scorner of all things noble and good, he failed to secure the public confidence, and fell headlong from his dizzy eminence. Here lies the secret of his ruin. There was nothing in his character to which the great heart of the people could attach itself in love; but they shrank from him, in mistrust, as from a cold and glittering serpent. The public rarely errs in an estimate like this."

It has been alleged of Mr. Jefferson, that he was privy to Burr's arrangements; and that they were tacitly assented to by him. In viewing the various circumstances, particularly the conduct of the President himself, it would at first appear that such an allegation was not altogether groundless. Burr had been a formidable rival in his master-struggle for the Presidency. It had required thirty ballotings to decide the question between them, and Jefferson's final success was owing to a compromise of the members of the Senate, by which the votes of Vermont, Delaware and Maryland were withdrawn from the opposition, through no particular preferences for the latter, but to conciliate parties and bury in silence the exciting topic.

The subject of the conquest of Mexico was daily conversed upon by the officers of the various Departments, as is clearly established by the evidence on the trial. The Spanish war was a theme of universal interest; and, had that event happened, what cared the President whether the American forces paused on the banks of the Sabine, or carried their arms into the heart of Mexico. Already had arrangements been effected between the Government and the Spanish officers of Louisiana and Florida, by which those officers were to favor the Americans, in case of a war, and rally under the standard of the forces of the Union.* And such would, doubtless, have been the

* "John Smith, a member of the United States Senate from Ohio, who was arrested as an accomplice of Burr, in a conversation with his friends, stated that, before the movements of Burr had attracted general notice, Mr. Jefferson requested a confidential interview with him, Smith, at which he inquired if he was not personally acquainted with the Spanish officers of Louisiana and Florida. On being answered in the affirmative, he went on to state, that a war with Spain seemed to be inevitable; and that it was very desirable to know the feelings of those men toward the United States, and whether reliance could be placed on their friendship, if a war should take place between the two countries. At the same time, he requested him to visit the country, with reference to that object. Mr. Smith stated that he did visit the country, as requested; and that, on his return, he reported to Mr. Jefferson that the governor, the inferior officers, and the inhabitants generally, were not only friendly, but were desirous of attaching themselves to the United States. This was in the summer preceding the 'war message' against Spain, which was sent to the two Houses of Congress, in December, 1805. Although the message was confidential, it soon became known to the diplomatic corps at Washington; and the French Ambassador was ordered, by his master, Napoleon, to inform the American Government that France would take a part with Spain, in any contest she might have with the United States. It is a matter of history, that, after that notice, the project against Spain, communicated in the confidential message, and referred to in the conversation with Mr. Smith, was abandoned; and about the same time, measures were taken to stop the movements of Burr.—*Burnet's Notes*, p. 294."

case, had a declaration of war been proclaimed; but an intimation from the French Ambassador, that the measure would call Napoleon to the aid of Spain, induced the Government to abandon its designs, and arrest the operations of Burr.

But, whatever may be said to the contrary, it is hardly to be presumed that any treasonable designs were known to the President; at least, no satisfactory evidence has ever been disclosed to implicate him with the movement. Had a collision with Spain actually occurred, it is probable no prosecution would ever have been instituted; for, in that event, American arms proving victorious, Spanish domination would have been swept from the continent of the North, and the banners of Burr would have floated proudly over the halls of the Montezumas.

CHAPTER XVI.

Ten years had passed rapidly away since the occurrences of the "Burr expedition." The prospect of regaining his fortune became daily less flattering to Blennerhassett. His means were insufficient to enable him to procure a sufficient number of slaves to render the production of cotton profitable. Hence he determined to dispose of his Mississippi estate, and try his fortunes in the growing metropolis of New York. An advertisement of the sale describes his possessions as consisting of one thousand acres of land, two hundred of which was under cultivation; a dwelling-house, orchard and cotton gin, with many other improvements, within thirty-six miles of Washington, Mississippi Territory, and six from navigation; also, twenty-two negroes, the whole estimated at the sum of $27,000.

From the proceeds of his sale he was enabled to satisfy his clamorous creditors, and make a small investment in the stocks of the banks of New York, to which city he shortly after removed.

During the interval, from the time of his removal from the Mississippi Territory until the year 1819, he has left us no record of his history. The Duke of Richmond, an old schoolmate, had been recently appointed Governor of Canada. He had heard of the misfortunes of his friend,

and addressed him a communication tendering his assistance. Blennerhassett's legal attainments qualified him for the duties of the bench, and, through the influence of the Governor, he hoped to secure a judgeship in one of the provincial courts. He accordingly removed to Montreal in 1819, and resumed the practice of the law in partnership with a Mr. Rossiter. Their success, however, did not prove flattering. Clients were few, and, as it appears from the correspondence which subsequently passed between them, were not of that class which most rapidly advance the fortunes of the profession. Blennerhassett entertained greater expectations of the bench than of the bar, but no vacancy occurred in the judicial corps. It was while here, with prospects of poverty and blighted hopes thickening around them, that Mrs. Blennerhassett wrote the following lines descriptive of the "Isle," her former home. They are from the overflowing of a heart which had passed through much sorrow, and are an eloquent lament over the misfortunes and ruin of the family and fortune of Blennerhassett:

"THE DESERTED ISLE."

Like mournful echo, from the silent tomb,
That pines away upon the midnight air,
While the pale moon breaks out, with fitful gloom,
Fond memory turns, with sad but welcome care,
To scenes of desolation and despair,
Once bright with all that beauty could bestow,
That peace could shed, or youthful fancy know.

To the fair isle, reverts the pleasing dream.
Again thou risest, in thy green attire,
Fresh, as at first, thy blooming graces seem;

Thy groves, thy fields, their wonted sweets respire;
Again thou 'rt all my heart could e'er desire.
O! why, dear Isle, art thou not still my own?
Thy charms could then for all my griefs atone.

The stranger that descends Ohio's stream,
Charm'd with the beauteous prospects that arise,
Marks the soft isles that, 'neath the glittering beam,
Dance with the wave and mingle with the skies,
Sees, also, one that now in ruin lies,
Which erst, like fairy queen, towered o'er the rest,
In every native charm, by culture, dress'd.

There rose the seat, where once, in pride of life,
My eye could mark the queenly river's flow,
In summer's calmness, or in winter's strife,
Swollen with rains, or battling with the snow.
Never, again, my heart such joy shall know.
Havoc, and ruin, rampant war, have pass'd
Over that isle, with their destroying blast.

The black'ning fire has swept throughout her halls
The winds fly whistling o'er them, and the wave
No more, in spring-floods, o'er the sand-beach crawls.
But furious drowns in one o'erwhelming grave,
Thy hallowed haunts it watered as a slave.
Drive on, destructive flood! and ne'er again
On that devoted isle let man remain.

Too many blissful moments there I 've known,
Too many hopes have there met their decay;
Too many feelings now for ever gone,
To wish that thou couldst ere again display
The joyful coloring of thy prime array;
Buried with thee, let them remain a blot,
With thee, their sweets, their bitterness forgot.

And, oh! that I could wholly wipe away
The memory of the ills that worked thy fall;

The memory of that all-eventful day,
When I return'd, and found my own fair hall
Held by the infuriate populace in thrall,
My own fireside blockaded by a band
That once found food and shelter of my hand.

My children, oh! a mother's pangs forbear,
Nor strike again that arrow to my soul;
Clasping the ruffians in suppliant prayer,
To free their mother from unjust control,
While with false crimes and imprecations foul,
The wretched, vilest refuse of the earth,
Mock jurisdiction held around my hearth.

Sweet isle! methinks I see thy bosom torn;
Again behold the ruthless rabble throng,
That wrought destruction taste must ever mourn.
Alas! I see thee now, shall see thee long;
But ne'er shall bitter feelings urge the wrong,
That, to a mob, would give the censure, due
To those that arm'd the plunder-greedy crew.

Thy shores are warmed by bounteous suns in vain,
Columbia!—if spite and envy spring,
To blot the beauty of mild nature's reign,
The European stranger, who would fling,
O'er tangled woods, refinement's polishing,
May find, expended, every plan of taste,
His work by ruffians render'd doubly waste.

"Misfortune having marked him for her own," Blennerhassett's anticipated promotion was never realized. The capriciousness of the British ministry had removed from office the sympathizing friend, and he found himself cast hopelessly upon the world, at an advanced age, without health, without energy, and almost destitute of the means of a comfortable subsistence.

As a last resort, he determined to prosecute a reversionary claim still existing in Ireland, regarded by him with indifference in his more affluent days, but which now, in his destitute situation, recommended itself strongly to his attention. Through the influence of friends, he hoped also to obtain an office under the English Government, by which he might the more readily gain the means for conducting the suit.

Under these considerations he left the province of Canada and sailed for Ireland, in 1822. As the receding shores of the American continent were dimly shadowed in the distance, he cast a glance toward the fading scene. A recollection of the past was no pleasing retrospect. A quarter of a century had passed since he had hailed those shores, with buoyant hopes and joyful anticipations of future happiness. To him, it was then a land wherein was to be realized all that was lovely—all that was desirable of earth—a land of freemen, with whom was the abode of peace. Then, he was in the noontide of manhood; blessed with health and a competency beyond his wants. The smile of friendship, the marked and decorous respect with which he was met, the welcome greeting—all gave evidence of lasting enjoyment. But how mysterious are the dispensations of Providence toward the children of men! He had lived long enough to see every one of those bright hopes perish; his fortune had been lost; his health most seriously impaired; and, to fill the measure of unhappiness, he was branded, by public opinion, with a design of overthrowing the liberties of that government which had allured him across the Atlantic. These were reflections gloomy in the extreme, and still

the future was not less cheerless. As the green fields of his native isle broke upon his view, how like the Prodigal Son, who had spent his substance in a foreign shore, did he return to his fatherland. But for him, alas! there was no "plenty and to spare;" no fatted calf was killed; no fond embrace of anxious friends. In the long space of twenty-five years, how many changes had served to break the ties which bound him to his childhood's home! As again he trod the fields of his former sports, memory turned, with melancholy tenderness, to those boon companions of his earlier years. Where, alas! were they? Nought now remained to identify him with the past; and he stood a stranger on his native land!

On the next day after his arrival in Ireland, he called upon his solicitor, Mr. Berwick, the gentleman referred to in the letter of Mr. Emmett, to consult with reference to the Bawn estate, then in the possession of Lord Ross, *ci devant*, Oxmantown.* But Dean Harman had been dead for more than twenty years, and Blennerhassett's

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* Lord Ross was formerly Sir Laurence Parsons, and was an able and eloquent advocate of Emancipation in the Irish House of Commons. He was not less a poet than an orator. Some effusions from his pen have found their way into the standard history of his country, and are much admired by his partisans, the United Irishmen. The following lines, from his pen, are selected from "Wolfe Jones's Memoirs:"

"How long, O Slavery! shall thine iron mace
Wave o'er this isle, and crouch its abject race?
Full many a dastard century we 've bent
Beneath thy terrors, wretched and content.

"What though with haughty arrogance and pride
England shall o'er this long-duped country stride,
And lay on stripe on stripe, and shame on shame,
And brand to all eternity its name?"

claim was barred by the statute of limitations. Besides, Lord Ross was both wealthy and influential, and was not disposed either to deliver up possession or suggest a compromise.

Blennerhassett, on leaving Quebec, having inclosed his will to his wife, she responded as follows:

From Mrs. Blennerhassett.

FLATBUSH, *July 29th*, 1822.

Your dear and long-looked-for letter from Quebec reached me a fortnight ago, and would have been much more welcome without the melancholy memento that accompanied it, though such precaution, I must confess, is necessary where a family is concerned; and I trust in God we have yet two children worthy of all we can do for them. Dominick * sailed three weeks ago for Savannah, where he may, from all accounts, do well. As to St. Domingo, that place is now out of the question, for many reasons you may have heard respecting its present situation. * * * * * *

You will be surprised to learn where I am now; I therefore will endeavor to state every thing concerning us since we parted, providing you have never received the letter I wrote on leaving Troy, where I found it impossible to settle with either convenience or economy; though

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"'T is right well done; bear all, and more, I say;
Nay. ten times more; and then for more still pray!
What State in something would not foremost be?
She strives for fame, thou for servility."

* Eldest son of Blennerhassett.

Mr. Dickenson made every exertion in his power for my accommodation. He then advised my coming to the neighborhood of New York, and mentioned this place or Greenwich.

I therefore came to Mr. Emmett for further advice, and he thought this place would be best, and gave me a letter to the Professor of the Academy here, who has been very kind to me. I found boarding here very high, and therefore engaged two rooms in a farm-house, at three dollars a week, and have Harman* with me, who has not, nor is likely to get, employment; and I find, after all the saving in my power, I can not maintain my two children, Mary and myself, under ten dollars a week, including every thing. * * * *

My dear kind friends, the Emmetts, have been my greatest support. Could I tell you all the affectionate kindness they have lavished on us, you would scarcely credit *even me.* Mrs. Emmett was not in town when I first arrived, but came in next day to see me. We cried together a long time, and Mr. Emmett said we were so foolish he must leave us. I went out with them to the country, where I spent three days. I did not wish to stay so long, but Lewis was with me, and so delighted with the beautiful place and all the attention he received, that I wished to indulge him; besides, I found Mrs. Emmett's advice and consolation acted powerfully in restoring me to some tranquillity; for never in my life have I been so completely wretched as since I parted from you. She would not hear of my doing any thing in the way of gaining a

* Second son of Blennerhassett.

livelihood while any prospect remained of your preferment, but cheered me with hopes of your success. They were then preparing to go on a visit to Potsdam, to their daughter; but Harman has seen them since, and told them of my present plan, which they highly approve.

It is this: on finding what my expenses, at the lowest calculation, amounted to here, I wrote to my sister to let me know what we could get boarding for in Wilksbarre, thinking, should you be detained any time, I might there make out much longer than here. To this letter, written a fortnight since, I have just received an answer. Sister is delighted, and has engaged boarding at two dollars for me and one for Lewis,* per week. As for Mary, I don't know what they will charge; for, intending to persuade her to find a place here, I never mentioned her, and now find it impossible to get rid of her. She positively declares she will never leave me, nor suffer me to pay a dollar for her traveling expenses; she agrees only to let me pay for her board, as she thinks my washing would cost me as much. * * * * *

Mr. D. wrote to me to get Mr. Emmett to address a recommendation to the Secretary of War for Harman; but no answer has been returned, and, from all accounts, there are too many applicants for West Point to expect success. Poor fellow! he is one of the best children, and the kindest of brothers. He managed Dominick as if he had been an old man, and now labors hard in teaching Lewis; so he will not forget what he already knows. You would be delighted to hear the Emmetts

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* Third son of Blennerhassett.

praise him. Mrs. Emmett took me up to the top of the house to show me the room she had prepared for him when first he came, and complained of his not taking it.

Young Swartwout overpowers him with kindness, and is, like many others, endeavoring to get him some employment. We shall set out for Wilksbarre in a few days. * * * * This house is only three miles from the bay; and on a still night, when I could not sleep, but listened to the roaring of the sea, O! it was dreadful. Poor Dominick, perhaps he is yet on it. God help me! I have lived too long, indeed, yet I still hope to be preserved to meet you again; and could I render the remainder of your life happy, what matters all the present sufferings I undergo.

Your affectionate wife, M. BLENNERHASSETT.

As the biography of Blennerhassett is peculiarly enhanced in interest by his association with this most devoted companion, my readers will pardon a digression which relates more exclusively to herself.

After the departure of her husband for Europe, Mrs. Blennerhassett, with two of her sons, Harman and Lewis, visited her sister, a Mrs. Dow, then residing at Wilksbarre, Pennsylvania, where she remained until December, 1822. The separation from her husband, the limited state of her finances, and the absence of her eldest son, who was then in the South, and exposed to the diseases of the tropics, had contributed to produce a state of despondency from which she found it difficult to rally. To add to her already overburdened distress, she received information of the arrival in New York of her unfortu-

nate child, who had returned from Savannah, wrecked in health, from an attack of yellow fever, and a penniless wanderer in the streets of that crowded metropolis. He had been liberally educated, and had prepared himself for the practice of surgery. But through the indulgences of his youth, he had contracted habits of dissipation, and proved utterly incapable either of aiding his unfortunate parents or of providing for his own necessities. The sad history of her erring first-born son is thus feelingly related by a mother, with whom many an aching heart may mingle a sigh of sympathetic sorrow:

From Mrs. Blennerhassett.

NEW YORK, *March 12th*, 1823.

MY EVER DEAR HUSBAND:—Your letter of the 29th of August, the first I have received since you sailed from Quebec, brings with it sensations I can not describe. After the dreadful despondency I have endured, for a period longer than I could have ever conceived myself capable, so extreme has been my wretchedness, that I have often conceived myself sinking into a state that promised a speedy termination of my sorrows: yet, as often have I rallied again, and struggled against such forebodings for the sake of my darling Lewis alone. Another thing that has caused me more recently to hope, was a communication from Mr. Dow, saying that he had learned, by a letter from B. Stafford, that you had left Ireland, and was in London, prosecuting a suit against Lord Ross, in which it was generally thought you would be successful. Here was, then, the dreadful fear of your death removed, and though I had no idea that fortune

would ever again smile upon us, at least to any great extent, I thought the celebrity of such a suit might be favorable to your prospects in Canada.

I have only written once since my letter from Flatbush, not knowing afterward where to direct. I remained at Wilksbarre from the last of August to the 25th of December, when I was induced to come here, partly by the hope of being more in the way of receiving your letters, the cross mails being very uncertain, and partly, if possible, to save poor Dominick; but I will not anticipate.

I wrote you that he had sailed for Savannah; and, endeavoring to discard him from my thoughts, I went with Harman and Lewis to Wilksbarre. I placed the former with Doctor Covel, a skillful and worthy Yankee, who paid him great attention without, as yet, demanding any remuneration; the latter had the benefit of a good country school, which he attended regularly. Mary resided with my sister, Mrs. Dow, where she did enough to pay for her board, and washed for us. I obtained board for the boys and myself at six dollars per week; this agreed with my finances, and I willingly endured the canting and vulgarity of the people of Wilksbarre for such advantages. But after getting my mind composed on Dominick's account, having received two letters from Savannah, saying he was doing well, his correspondence suddenly ceased. Some ten weeks elapsed, when I received another from New York, announcing his arrival there in the most deplorable condition, after having escaped, as he expressed it, burying his bones in the sands of Savannah, where he had had a long and repeated attack of yellow fever. His life had been saved

by a friendly physician; but his protracted confinement had involved him so in debt, that, when scarcely able to walk, he shipped himself privately for New York, rather than be taken to die, as he must certainly have done, in *jail.* He had given his clothes and books to defray his passage to New York; and, but for the humanity of an Englishman, who is the keeper of a small tavern here, might have lain down to rest in the streets of the city. I wrote to Robert Emmett to give him twenty dollars out of my half-year's dividend I had ordered to be paid to him, with which request he complied, and answered me, saying that his embarrassments prevented him from offering money, though Dominick had not communicated to him his necessities. Afterward, I received another communication from D., stating that he had determined no longer to be a burden to me; that he had gone to the Navy-Yard, to enlist as a common marine, in hopes that, by good conduct, he might be appointed to a good position in the hospital; but that on being referred to the surgeon for examination, he was rejected, in consequence of the critical condition of his health. Mr. Emmett had previously written me that D. was much improved, and that he yet hoped he might do well. I dreaded his enlisting, though the surgeon, on inquiring his name, advised him against it, and promised his influence in having him appointed as an assistant; and, though well aware you will blame me, I could not rest while his fate was so doubtful; but, in dreadful weather, over the roughest roads, we set out, and reached this on Christmas Eve. Robert Emmett was conducting me to their house, when Dominick espied me, and hid, rather

than excite my feelings in the street. 'T was well he did; for the next morning, when he came to me at Mr. E.'s, his appearance was shocking beyond all description. It gave me, however, consolation to know that my timely appearance prevented his enlistment; for, on that very day, he had resolved to do so, as the only means of escaping starvation. He said he was quite restored; but such restoration I never saw. When I witnessed my once dear child's situation, I felt, indeed, that I had lived too long. I dismissed the poor fellow with a trifle to aid his most pressing wants, not wishing him to return to the military station at Brooklyn, where, for some days, he had been assisting in the hospital, and living with the common soldiers. After consulting with my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Emmett, I wrote to Colonel Henderson, at Washington, who commands the corps, and in a few days received one of the most generous and gratifying answers that I could have desired. He said that to have an opportunity of obliging where he owed obligations never to be forgotten, gave him real pleasure; that he had taken my letter to the Secretary of War, and obtained the promise of an appointment, as surgeon's assistant, for my son, in Commodore Porter's Expedition, which was to sail in a short time; requested me to lose no time; and, as you were absent, solicited me, in the most generous manner, to draw on him for any sum I deemed necessary for Dominick's outfit. I showed this letter to Mr. and Mrs. Emmett, and, of course, not choosing to incur a pecuniary obligation, and as Dominick's reformed habits justified my doing the best I could for my child, we agreed that I ought to sell a share of my bank stock, which was

accordingly done; and, after the necessary clothing, with money sufficient to bear his traveling expenses to Washington, I bid him farewell, with more extatic happiness than I conceived myself capable of experiencing under my gloomy apprehensions as to yourself. Col. Henderson having requested me to send him directly to his house, where, I am told, he lives in very genteel style, on Dominick's arrival, received him as kindly as his own son, and wrote me immediately to assure me of Dominick's safety, and of the expected sailing of the expedition in a few days.

I heard no more from D. for a week, when you may guess my astonishment on his entering my room like an apparition. To tell you what passed is useless, but I gathered from him enough to convince me that by the return of his old habits he had completely disgusted Col. Henderson, who had given him thirty dollars to bring him back to his most unfortunate mother. I gather from Dominick, that he received a severe reprimand from the Colonel, who yet assured him that if he would give him his word that he would never again so far forget himself as to get intoxicated, he should still go in the expedition. Dominick's answer was that he could not answer for himself. Thus ended the business, and thus am I burdened with this unfortunate child, whose existence I will prolong, while my own lasts, whether you gain an independence, or I am obliged to retire to a situation which, however humble, will yet afford me the means of giving him bread; and which I now no more expect him to gain himself than I should do had it pleased God to bring him an idiot into the world. My obligations, in

that event, could not be greater to maintain him than it is at present; indeed, the most hopeless idiot has no more claims on a mother's care and solicitude than he; for I firmly believe he has no longer the power to refrain from drink; and did I not guard him, even to the preservation and custody of his own clothes, he would be stripped at once; yet he is to me as docile as a lamb, and I have placed him with a poor but excellent woman, who boards him for three dollars and a half a week. I can not trust him with money, though certainly there never was a more devotedly affectionate son. Harman feels just as I do, and were I on my death-bed I should not fear to resign to him the care of his unfortunate brother. * * * * Should you return next month, as your letter to Mr. Emmett mentions, I shall hope we may return to Canada. If your expectations are sufficiently encouraging to detain you in London on this law writ, and should you be successful even in gaining a fair compromise, I trust we shall soon be able to go to you; for, let our situation be what it may, never can I think of ending my days in this country. Mr. Emmett is in Washington, but Mrs. E. showed me your letter, which she will retain until his return, which is expected in a fortnight. To tell you how I love this family would be impossible. It grieves me, therefore, to say that I think they are somewhat embarrassed, at present, in their circumstances. They lost their fine son, Temple,* last autumn, who died of the yellow fever, on board of the *Macedonian*. * * * * * *

* The two sons of Thomas Addis Emmett were called after his brothers Temple and Robert.

I have written a long letter, that you may never receive; but I trust, if not, you will be on the water on your return. My mind seems buoyed up now for happiness, and whether poverty or affluence awaits us, every effort of my declining years shall be used to make yours pass with as little uneasiness as can be expected to await on old age and disappointed hopes. For my part, for upward of eight months, I have endured too much to look forward without hope to the future that will restore you to

Your affectionate M. BLENNERHASSETT.

From Col. Archibald Henderson to Mrs. Blennerhassett.

WASHINGTON, *Jan. 7th*, 1823.

MY DEAR MADAM:—I do not know when I have received a letter which has conveyed to my mind such strong recollections of mingled pleasure and pain. It has irresistibly carried me back to the period when, under your hospitable roof, I received every attention of hospitality and kindness; it was my *debut* in life. I have often spoke, and far oftener thought, of the halo that was thrown over my monotony of existence, in that wild country, by my visits at the beautiful and isolated spot of your former residence. I must, however, cease to write on this subject. As long as my heart beats and feels, I shall never forget your kindness; I therefore need not say with how much alacrity and anxiety I took your letter to the Secretary of the Navy, and how much pleasure it gives me to communicate to you that he has the good-

ness to consent that Dominick may go, as a volunteer surgeon's mate, in this piratical expedition, with the usual pay and emoluments. No appointments can be now made, and the Secretary of the Navy will not pledge himself as to any future appointment; I therefore hope, my dear madam, you will be satisfied with what has been procured. I spoke to Mr. Dickinson on the subject last night; he will enforce all future arrangements.

Dominick had better come here as soon as possible, and bring his trunk to my house. As Mr. Blennerhassett is away, I hope I may take the liberty, which gratitude for former kindness now induces me to take, to offer my young friend any assistance he may require in coming on to Washington, and any draft for that purpose, I hope he will not hesitate to make on me. I trust you will excuse me if I feel over-anxious; 't is my gratitude alone that prompts it.

I now conclude, assuring you that I feel every solicitude in serving you and yours, and I beg you to believe me, with gratitude and truth,

Sincerely yours, ARCH. HENDERSON.

Col. Archibald Henderson to Mrs. Blennerhassett.

WASHINGTON, *Jan. 20th*, 1823.

MY DEAR MADAM:—Dominick arrived a few days ago, and is awaiting the arrival of Captain Porter, who is daily expected here to proceed on the service that has been marked out for him. It is fortunate some little delay has taken place, as he is somewhat indisposed from

the fatigue of traveling, and will not prevent his joining the expedition on which he is to proceed.

I should have sooner answered your kind letter of the 11th, but thought it better to wait until he had left me for Norfolk; but as that may not be the case for several days, I have concluded to write lest you might feel some anxiety at not hearing.

Your indisposition, I hope, may be evanescent. You rate entirely too high the trifling service it has been in my power to do you. It is indeed trifling when compared with that received by me from you and yours. I shall carry the recollection of it with me "to that bourn whence no traveler returns." I am much of a wanderer still, and I may yet hope to meet you in this world. Should Mr. B. still reside in Canada, I shall probably see you next summer, as I have it in contemplation to descend the lakes to Montreal. This world, however, is full of change; it may therefore be our fate never again to meet here, but I sincerely wish that your decline of life may be less checkered than its spring and summer have been; that it may be rendered happy, and that the scions which are growing up around the parent tree, may invigorate, support and comfort it, until it is cut down by the same hand that planted and caused it to grow.

I will write again when Dominick leaves me, and, in the mean time, beg you to believe me with sincere regards

Yours, A. HENDERSON.

In a subsequent letter, dated Montreal, September 12th, 1823, Mrs. Blennerhassett continues her narrative:

I had no money, having for some weeks paid my way

by borrowing from Mr. Emmett; because, having looked for you by the spring ships, I wished not to encumber the Montreal bank stock. The whole expenses of the family stood me in about sixteen dollars per week. I found I could do nothing in the States, and, upon the advice of Rossiter, concluded to return to Montreal. The Emmetts, with whom I consulted, agreed with me as to the propriety of the measure; for New York was then becoming objectionable, on account of the extreme heat, and they were about removing to the country. They having invited me to accompany them, I accepted their kindness, and did so, taking Lewis with me, to remain a week. Before leaving, however, I told Dominick that I must now think of his father, who had nothing, and of the other children, and that he must maintain himself. Having remained a week in the country, where every attention was paid me by the family in the most affectionate manner, I returned to the city. Having received the money for two shares of my bank stock, which Robert sold, I paid my debts, and leaving Harman with my necessary baggage, and money sufficient to maintain him until your arrival, my last severe task yet remained to see and bid adieu to my unfortunate, though still dearly loved son. Harman sought him out, and found him already enlisted! brought him to me at the Steamboat Hotel, dressed in a common soldier's garb, but quite happy and unconcerned. O God! had I been guilty of the greatest crime, the punishment of that moment ought to have expiated it; but the subject is too painful to dwell upon; I will only add, that he went with a detachment up the Mississippi, and is now, I believe, acting

as surgeon's mate, and, as yet, I have received no communication from him.*

Lewis and I had a safe, and, had I been happy, an agreeable journey. At Albany we received the kind attentions of Major Smith and family, and arrived at La Prairie, where we awaited our friend Rossiter, to whom I had previously written to have lodgings prepared for us. Having remained here during the night, and Rossiter failing to arrive as early as I expected, we crossed over without really knowing where we should go. But he met us on the bank, on his way to us, and conducted us to the residence of Mrs. Turnstall, who had insisted on my stopping with her. Her reception was truly affectionate, and seemed quite hurt that I would not consent to remain longer than two days. Rossiter accompanied me to see several houses which he had examined, but would not engage until I came. I, after some hesitation, finally fixed upon the one I am now in. It was in bad order, but has attached to the lot a good garden, which to me, who desire to live retired, is the greatest acquisition. The rent being but £20 per year, determined me to fix myself here rather than in a lodging where boarding for Lewis and myself could not be obtained for less than ten dollars per week. You know that I must have one servant any how, and one is all that I have now. Marketing is cheap, being now lower by half than when you were here. But, after all, the prospect of having a home,

* This unfortunate youth afterward was found in a state of destitution in the streets of New Orleans, by Nathaniel Cox, Esq., an acquaintance of the family, who procured for him a situation in the Charity Hospital, as assistant apothecary. He remained for a short time, when he left for St. Louis, since which his fate is unknown.

though ever so humble, to receive you, was the chief inducement to my determination. This, however, like all my visions of hope, has faded. I see plainly that you are never to return here; nor can I say that I would wish it, unless as a judge, for I am well assured that you would not again get practice as a lawyer, the idea having become prevalent that you are not versed in French law. I fear there is no chance for your promotion to the judgeship, unless the Marquis of Anglesey would write to Lord Dalhousie for his recommendation to Lord Bathurst, as I am well informed that all recommendations must proceed, in the first instance, from the Commander-in-chief, and I fear the interest of Sir J. Gordon Sinclair may not be enough with the Governor, as he and the Richmond faction were at variance. I wish, therefore, that you would make this last effort with Lord Anglesey, as I firmly believe it is the only one that can serve you. Should it fail, then turn your thoughts to something at home, I care not what, if it will only furnish us bread. But to be parted from you I can not longer bear; and if being with you should have the effect of injuring either your interest or reputation, then let me be lodged somewhere in obscurity, where I may sometimes see you; and, in the event of Lewis's being in the navy, give me the chance of seeing and hearing from him occasionally.

As to your coming in December, 't is utterly out of the question; and should you, to my surprise, obtain the appointment you seek, it can not be before next June. We must winter here at all events, during which time I hope to hear from you again. My situation at present is alarming. I have only six shares remaining in bank,

after the utmost economy. 'T is true I have furnished my house, though humbly, and paid three months rent in advance, and have also one hundred dollars by me; but what is this? I had resolved, before I received your letter, to commence, at the expiration of the term now paid for, in a larger dwelling, and keep a boarding-house, which, from the reduced rents, cheap markets, and high rate of board, might have, at least, maintained us, if it did not prove profitable. But now I can not degrade myself while their is a hope remaining of your success.

I have been treated with the greatest attention by all our former acquaintances, and visited a great deal, but, of course, do not entertain, nor is it expected of me; while a few friends call without ceremony, and I assure you I am now so pleased with Montreal, that could you return I would never wish to leave it. * * *

* * * * * * * *

To say how ardently Lewis loves you is impossible. Your very name fills the dear creature's eyes with tears. Though the first mention of his going into the navy gave him great delight, still the thought of leaving me caused him much pain. By degrees, however, I have gained his consent, and although he has long been, and is still, my greatest consolation, I nevertheless will give him up to one whom I feel worthy of the trust. Tell H., then, he shall have him.

Could he see me at the moment I write the fiat that will tear me from my idolized child, while memory reverts to the days of his own infancy, when, with my dear aunt and uncle De Coursey, I passed many a happy day in the same house with him and dear little Michael (Ann

was not born at Reese), I say, could he, or any of those friends who fondly recall me to their recollection, but see my present suffering, what a flood of sympathy would overwhelm me! But I am glad they do not; it is better that I suffer alone. My dear aunt Avice! how joyfully would I watch over her feeble health, and share with her the cares and anxieties for the sick and suffering Admiral! I was much gratified to hear from you that she intends writing; but am I still to be an exile? 'T is hard; and if my present afflictions continue, I feel that I can not long live. * * * * *

* * * * * * * *

Farewell! I am perfectly miserable at this long separation. When, when will it ever end?

Your affectionate wife,

MARG'T BLENNERHASSETT.

In the mean time, Blennerhassett, having abandoned the hope of recovering the estates in Ireland, set himself industriously to work to procure an office under the English Government. From the correspondence which follows, it appears that, such were his necessities, he was willing to accept almost any position promising subsistence for his family. He had been severed from his former pursuits; his fortune entirely expended; and now, a waif upon the sea of life, he shuddered to look forward to the future, while the past was a troubled dream of disappointed expectation. The hour, however, had arrived for a sublime but terrible contest for existence. To falter were to perish; to be resolute, perchance victorious. Connected with the then-existing Government, were

many of his early classmates, and several distinguished dignitaries, related by the ties of consanguinity; from the latter of whom, at least, he conceived he had the right to expect promotion. From a mass of correspondence of the same character, during a period of several years, I have selected the following letters as conveying an intelligible idea of his struggles and reverses, as well as of those with whom fate had linked his destiny:

*To the Marquis of Anglesey.**

LONDON, *October* 16*th*, 1822.

MY LORD:—I beg to accompany the letter, intended to be communicated to Lord Bathurst, according to your Lordship's obliging suggestions, made to me at

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* The Marquis of Anglesey, who was born in 1768, was eldest son of the late Earl of Uxbridge; and, after studying at Oxford, was appointed, in 1793, when Lord Paget, to the command of a regiment he had raised among his father's tenantry. He served with this corps, under the Duke of York, in Flanders, and again in the British expedition to Holland, in 1799. He had risen to the rank of Major-General, when he joined Sir John Moore's army in the Peninsula, and assisted in the retreat of Corunna and the battle there, January 16, 1809, where Moore was killed. He was married, in 1795, to a daughter of the Earl of Jersey, by whom he had eight children; but, soon after his return from Portugal, figured as defendant in a crim. con. suit, in which the plaintiff was Wellesley, brother to "the Duke," and created Lord Cowley, in 1828, who recovered twenty thousand pounds sterling damages. The result was, a double divorce: Lady Paget from him (she afterward married the late Duke of Argyle), and Mr. Wellesley from his guilty wife, *née* Lady Charlotte Codogan. Lord Paget married the frail fair in 1810, and they had a large family; two of their sons were members of the British House of Commons, in 1854. The trial and its revelations gave much unenviable notoriety to Lord Paget. He is alluded to by Byron in the line,

"And, worst of all, a Paget for your wife;"

and Moore, albeit *little* of a moralist, thus had his fling, in a didactic poem called "The Sceptic," a philosophical satire:

Beau Desert, on the 10th inst., with an explanation of the motives that urged me to resort to the severe necessity of leaving my family in America for the purpose of personally soliciting your Lordship's interest in behalf of my labors to serve the Government, as you had made one already, without effect, to recommend me to the Colonial Department.

The proud distinction of your Lordship's patronage once conferred upon me, although unsuccessful, sunk deep into the grateful hearts of an embarrassed family,

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"Paget, who sees upon his pillow laid
A face for which ten thousand pounds were paid,
Can tell how quick, before a jury, flies
The spell that mocked the warm seducer's eyes."

Many years subsequently, when he had become Viceroy of Ireland, the Irish ladies declined visiting his wife; and having caused the arrest of O'Connell, on a charge of seditious language, the orator, in another speech, said: "He has caused my wife to weep. Does he know the value of a *virtuous* woman's tear? In 1812, Lord Paget succeeded his father as Earl of Uxbridge. He had a cavalry command at Waterloo; and having lost a leg, was created Marquis of Anglesey. In 1820, he voted for the bill of Pains and Penalties against Queen Caroline. In February, 1828, "the Duke," who had just become Premier, sent him to Ireland as Viceroy; and his conduct there was generally impartial. But in December, 1828, having received a letter from Dr. Curlis, the Catholic Primate, which the Duke of Wellington had written to him, suggesting that the Catholic claims be "buried in oblivion" for a time, Lord Anglesey wrote back an epistle, which was published, recommending the continued agitation of the question. This gave great offense to George IV, who had become tired of eternal discussion on Catholic wrongs, and the writer was recalled. Two months after, the final settlement of the question was recommended in the King's Speech at the commencement of the Parliamentary Session. Soon after, he was again made Viceroy of Ireland, and so continued until September, 1833. But his latter reign was not popular. He has held other high offices connected with the army, and was the Senior Field-Marshal in the British army, in 1854, then in his eighty-sixth year.—*Mackenzie.*

and shed a ray of cheering hope upon the gloom of their despondency that the generous impulse which had before determined your Lordship to desire that relief, would not now abandon their *head*, whose honor and character, however, stood as high as when they enjoyed your Lordship's esteem in early life.

The authority given to me to make my suit through your Lordship to Earl Bathurst, and the condescending attentions ordered to be shown to me at Beau Desert, fully confirm your Lordship's desire, at least, to benefit me. Under such auspices, I can not anticipate disappointment; while, for myself, my views extend not beyond the acquisition of a pittance on which I could subsist any where, after devoting the residue of my official salary to the maintenance of my family, if I could not remove them from Canada, where there is now a judicial vacancy in the District of Montreal. I would accept a situation in India, or any other part of the world, or even one I should dislike of all others, that of Assistant Barrister of Quarter Sessions in Ireland, in preference of which I would as soon choose an agency to any estate that would maintain me.

In so wide a range to seek employment, the generous disposition of your Lordship, already manifested, to assist me in Canada, can not fail to succeed, if exerted, while I am in the way to avail myself of the opportunity. Hence it is that I have left my family in the most painful anxiety to learn the result of my endeavors in England, of which a total failure would result in hopeless ruin.

Having had an opportunity of knowing that a person in America, over whom I possess some influence, is about

to publish a volume under the title of "Secret Memoirs of her Serene Highness the Duchess of Quedlinburg," a near relative of his Majesty, containing original letters of rather a scandalous character, addressed to a Col. Stafford, Chamberlain to the Duke of Brunswick, of the first eight of which I have copies here, a publication which probably the King would not wish to appear, I had thought it my duty to engage the proprietor of these letters to suspend his intended publication until I could endeavor to ascertain the King's pleasure on the subject. Presuming your Lordship will approve of the principle of loyal concern for his Majesty's fame, for which I have interfered in this matter, I beg your Lordship's direction to guide me in controlling the proprietor of these letters, or leaving him to take his course. The copies in my possession are, if desired, at your Lordship's orders. The authenticity of the whole can be established, and an English translation is intended, with the French originals annexed.

I beg to apologize for having so long trespassed upon your Lordship's leisure; and with assurances of the most profound esteem and heartfelt gratitude, pray to be considered, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

To Blennerhassett.

MONTREAL, *January 3d*, 1824.

MY DEAR HUSBAND:—Let me flatter myself that, having, as I hope, received my last two letters, written since

I received yours inclosing the gift from my aunt, this, penned at the commencement of a new year, may find you more cheerful than myself, though my situation is in no way changed, and we are all well. But, it having been so long since we have heard from you, and dreading the delays of the approaching season, my spirits have become exceedingly depressed. You must not forget that if I am condemned to live separated from you, my only solace is in your frequent letters. If I am not permitted, as the last comfort of my declining life, to watch over yours, let me, at least, know that you are well, and I shall not murmur. I trust, therefore, you will not again condemn me to the anxieties of a six months' silence.

My last letter was forwarded several days since, by New York, and I now avail myself of the opportunity of sending, by Mr. David, the Jew, who sets out for London in two days, trusting that some of my letters, at least, may reach you.

I am told here that any young man may get into the marines, through naval interposition; and as a war seems approaching, and poor Harman has no prospect of a maintenance but what I may afford him, I wish you to exert yourself among our relatives to accomplish this, if possible. Could we succeed in getting a situation for him, and should you fail in procuring one for yourself, we might still provide for the education of Lewis, so as to fit him in turn for some one of the useful occupations of life. If I have been misinformed as to the facilities of getting into the marine corps, I wish to be advised as to conditions under which an applicant can enter without such interposition as my kind friend, Mrs. T———, would endeavor

to get her younger son into that service, and could I believe, if necessary, purchase in. If I have harbored false hopes for Harman, darken them at once rather than keep me in suspense.

I have been very much alarmed, since I last wrote, for the fate of our friend Rossiter, who has been confined these last five weeks with a liver complaint, which brought him to the brink of the grave. He is now, however, nearly recovered, although it will be some time before he can get out.

* * * * * * * *

By the time this reaches you I suppose our old friend Devereux will be in London. He is now in Washington, the received ambassador from the Colombian Republic. His laurels have been dearly won. I would give much to see him, but that is impossible. However, I think that, should you see his name announced in London, it might be worth while to go and see him, as he could certainly do something for Harman, should what I have before proposed fail. You know my disposition too well to wonder at the solicitude I feel for my child; and, even if my efforts should all prove fruitless, it will still be a cause of consolation to know that I have done all in my power to serve him.

I have promised you some pleasing intelligence in my last two letters, which I hope and believe I shall soon be able to communicate; but the time for it has not yet arrived; when it does, be assured that no pleasure could be much to me without your participation.

The winter here is very severe; but I find so much more comfort than I did last season, in New York, that, while I can live, I will not repine, and trust you will fol-

low my example. Say every thing for me to my dear friends who kindly interest themselves in my behalf. God only knows whether ever again I shall see them or be permitted to enjoy any friendship, other than that of strangers, yet for this I am not unthankful. There are some of these, even, who are unremitting in their kindness. While from what is called society, that is, parties, I am excluded, as I must necessarily be, both from my situation and inclinations, yet, I am seldom alone, and continue to take exercise enough for health, as severe as the season is. This is the first winter for nine years that I have escaped a cold, or have not suffered from a return of my breast complaint. It is certainly cause for thankfulness, as a similar attack to that of last winter would rob my dear Lewis of his only protection.

Adieu! my dear husband. Take care of yourself, and some happiness may yet be in store for

Your wife, M. BLENNERHASSETT.

To Nev. de Courcy.

(PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.)

STOKETON HOUSE, *March 29th*, 1824.

MY DEAR NEV.:—How fully I am persuaded your anxiety to serve me is solicitous to consider the best means of availing yourself of such opportunities to do so, as this, your second visit to Portugal, may offer, I will leave to futurity to evince through the grateful affection of a distressed family, whose head is already devoted to you. If, therefore, you have acceded to my wish in accepting

the offer I have made you, to put on paper *my* views of the best means of succeeding for me, you will not imagine that in so doing I have any purpose, either to stimulate your zeal or to induce you to substitute my judgment and policy for your own, in scenes and circumstances of which you will be able to judge on the spot, but which I can only estimate through, perhaps, a delusive medium at a distance. If the suggestions I am about to present to you should be sanctioned by the results of your own observation, or modified by the characters and circumstances that you will be concerned with, an occasional review of the former may not, however, be quite useless as a sort of *chart* on which you may prick off your course, not so much by the bearings and distances I have set down, as by the winds and currents of party and intrigue you may be affected by in the voyage.

Without further preamble, then, I conceive the means of effecting my introduction into the civil service of the Portuguese Government can only be obtained through the patronage of the actual minister, whether Pampeluna or any other. Without such a passport it will be in vain to linger in the confidence which even the King's promises may inspire, or the assurances his other courtiers may profess; the former can never be realized without the fiat of the minister; the influence and sincerity of the latter must submit to the same test.

The best affections of a monarch, situated as is John VI, must ever be confined to the royal breast, powerless and inert, until the minister shall become the conductor between them and the object to which they are directed. Hence arises the necessity of engaging the minister's in-

terest, at a period early enough to prevent his suspicion of neglect. But upon what terms, i. e., through the insinuation of what future return, on the part of the candidate, is the first question of either doubt or difficulty that presents itself? Now, whatever may be your views or policy of the minister, I should not hesitate to pledge myself to espouse them all, subject to the *proviso* that nothing therein tended to the detriment of his Majesty. Ever alive to the influence of this sentiment, I should make no compromise, nor hold any interview with the party of the Queen or Don Miguel, even if I could intrigue for my object through their influence. But to a candidate, circumstanced as I am, there can be no great difficulty in choosing between the French and English parties at court, should such an election become necessary. In the present state of Portugal, which, politically, if not commercially speaking, must, under continental contact, yield to the destinies of Spain, I could conscientiously enlist under the banners of the shortest side, which I would endeavor accurately to ascertain beforehand. So far this outline is made to include advances to foreign ministers, as well as Pampeluna, especially the French and Russian, whose interest ought, at the same time, to be early courted. When it is represented to all these personages that the candidate, who had already obtained some royal notice of the recommendation which the King has favorably received of him, is qualified as a *jurist* and a scholar to serve his Majesty in any diplomatic or judicial office; and you may add, if every thing else fails, as a forlorn hope, "in an *ecclesiastical* character," that in Europe or America he would strenuously

and ably advance the best interest of his patrons in a diplomatic character, etc.

I trust it is not too much to expect, that if your exertions should overreach their farthest aim, they will not altogether fall short without reaching some intermediate point between total failure and success, where I may find myself once entered upon some station in which I may *subsist* until I can thence work out promotion. I will exemplify my meaning here by observing, that I should not deem it disparagement of the condition I derive from my ancestry and profession, of which even poverty must not divest me, to accept any situation, any where, not even excepting Angela, which was not beneath the rank of a consul or collector. As to location, my preference would be first in Europe, next in America, any where preferable to the United States, where, being obnoxious as a persecuted supporter heretofore of legitimate monarchy, I could not so easily fill all the duties of a diplomatic station. Should such an appointment be unattainable, you will next try to work out one in the *law;* or if that fail too, then, finally, endeavor to obtain such an establishment in the *Church* as in its income would enable me to spare you two or three hundred pounds a year, after leaving me as much more on which to subsist. Now, this is the only topic of this letter; I wish you to regard it as inviolably confidential; for, although I could as easily satisfy your reason and feelings as my own, that I should neither offend against the duties of true religion and morality, in accepting such a treasure, were it not even justified as the best effort I could make for a starving family; yet how vain would the undertaking

prove with others! If, then, you should be reduced to the necessity of canvassing for me in a spiritual character, you need not hesitate to say of me, "*que vous un connaissez un bon Catholique.*"

I will close this tiresome letter by begging of you to look at it occasionally, to remind you that the time draws near for my return to my family, "to live or starve together, as we can, for the remainder of our days;" * but, until death shall relieve us of our wants, we shall ever cherish the most affectionate regards for you. This consideration will suggest to you the expediency of giving me speedy intelligence of the result of your exertions on my behalf.

And believe me, etc., HAR. B——TT.

To Lord Courtney.

STOKETON HOUSE, SALTASH, *April 15th*, 1824.

MY LORD:—After the long lapse of years through which your lordship and myself have passed with the respective portions of happiness and misery each of us has experienced since the days of our juvenile friendship, when boarding together at Mrs. Clapham's, it will, I hope, be less matter of surprise than of satisfaction to you to learn that your old school-fellow, Blennerhassett, though hitherto silent, now takes the first opportunity of soliciting a revival of friendly intercourse by proposing a correspondence which may enable him to testify the acute

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* An expression in one of Mrs. B.'s letters to himself.

sense he has of the injuries which have so largely been unaccountably suffered to undermine your lordship's fame and just rights, in which no one has yet anticipated him in standing forward to vindicate.

It is only since my late return from America, after an absence of near thirty years, that I have been given to understand your lordship has, during so many years, been the victim of so much malice and self-interest, without the aid of a protecting arm, to turn aside those of the moral assassins that have beset your fame, that they might thereby divest you of your property. Now, to grapple with the ruffians, and oust them of whatever control they may have usurped over your mind and estate, I tender you, under the guarantee of our juvenile friendships, my services as an experienced barrister, together with those offices of friendship which I am disposed to think you might require and return in circumstances not incompatible with our respective stations in life.

But I forbear troubling you with any thing like stipulation, unless called upon to do so, after having proved the success of the efforts I would make to deserve your confidence, which, in the first instance, I may, in some degree, appreciate from the tenor of your answer.

If I should join your lordship's society, I would observe, my habits are those of a literary man, though I easily accommodate myself to any mode of life, and am no less than I was in boyhood, an enthusiast in music, in which I have become a proficient. Your speedy answer will be anxiously looked for by, my Lord,

Yours most faithfully,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

To Blennerhassett.

MONTREAL, *May* 19*th*, 1824.

MY DEAR HUSBAND:—Your letter, conveying the melancholy tidings of our much-lamented Admiral's death, not unexpected, should have been answered sooner if the state of my mind had not made me dread that my writing might grieve you more than my silence. But I am now more tranquil, and am at a loss for appropriate words of condolence. Tell my aunt Mary that I deeply sympathize with her in her great affliction, and that the image of those virtues which shone forth in her noble husband's character are as fresh in my recollection as though I had seen him but yesterday. I sincerely hope, if you have not already, that you may prevail on my aunt Avis to remain near her sister, as this will be, for a time at least, her only consolation. * * *

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You can not surely remain from us forever. It would have been better that you had not elated me with the hope of prosperity; but my disappointment is over now, and I can even console you. Our noble friend Rossiter wishes for nothing so much as joining you again in business, of which he has more than he can attend to, and only forbears taking a partner in hopes of your return. I moved the day before yesterday into an excellent house, at £25 rent. It is the one you may recollect, constructed of stone, in the rear of the house in which we lived.

I am quite fatigued in body and mind; the latter, as you know, always weak; yet it has achieved more than

you would credit, did you know all.* But I will soon write again, and hope the April packet can not be far off. In the mean time, do 'nt be discouraged; we may yet do well here in a moderate way; and what more, at our time of life, is necessary? As to your keeping a school, it is nonsense (pardon the expression); we shall never be driven to this; and here, even if we were starving, it would be impossible. My six bank shares are untouched yet; and if you return, or should send me £25, may so remain for a long time. I have a comfortable house, furnished as well as my necessities require; and, with the assistance of a good maid-servant, get along comfortably. In short, therefore, be easy about me on every account but one, your continued *absence;* this it is that breaks my heart; and if it is suffered to continue, I may not last long. Thank Nevison for me; certainly, should I die, he shall have Lewis, now my only comfort.

The boys are well; Lewis progresses rapidly at school; but, alas! Harman is doing nothing but indulging himself in miscellaneous reading, and performing occasional errands. He says, on your return, he will go to the Southern States and teach. I have written to poor Dominick, but have received nothing from, or heard nothing of, him since last August, at which time he accompanied the troops to the head of the Mississippi. This is, indeed, a sad scroll; do n't show it to any one. When I began it, I was calm, and thought I was brave; but the subjects

* An allusion to the forthcoming book of poetry, "The Widow of the Rock, and other Poems," which she was then publishing, and with which she desired to surprise her husband.

that have constantly recurred have overcome me, and I am compelled to conclude. When I recover myself, which I hope will be in a few days, I shall commence a long sheet that will prove far more acceptable.

God bless and preserve you! prays

YOUR AFFECTIONATE WIFE.

To Blennerhassett.

MONTREAL, *June 27th*, 1824.

MY DEAR HUSBAND:—Could I believe in the flattering hope of your embarking to return to us on the 1st of April, any answer to your welcome letter of the 1st and 3d of May would be useless; but, alas! such and so multiplied have been my cruel disappointments on this score, that, until I see you, I shall almost despair of our ever meeting again. I look for letter after letter, still hoping the next I receive will end my doubts; but every one that arrives only adds to my perplexity.

If my last two have reached you, my *riddle*, as you call it, has been solved; and, what is of more importance, you have an outline of a plan by which, if we can not live in affluence, we may yet subsist with independence here.

All those little attentions paid me at first by many of the citizens of this community, seemed to have been withdrawn, until the publication of my book, which, in a few instances, excited a renewal of them, and which I rejected; holding it better to live in solitude than again subject myself to the capriciousness of those to whom I feel myself superior. The author of "The Widow of the Rock, and

other Poems,"* will, therefore, receive no favor which was withheld from "Mrs. Blennerhassett." I live in utter solitude; but such has been the state of my health and spirits for some time past, that any society would have been insupportable.

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I rely on none of the prospects of your advancement you mention, save the poor chance there may be of a recommendation to a new Governor, if Dalhousie, who has gone home with his family, does not return. The papers say, but this is only conjecture, that he is to go out to India, and that both a civil and military governor will be sent to Canada. Heaven only knows how this may be; but, notwithstanding all the fuss a few *toad-eaters* made at his departure, the general impression seems to be, that he is a poor creature; while the Canadian party can't tolerate him.

I exceedingly dislike this place, but do not know where I can be better suited; for, as to Portugal or its dependencies, I turn from them in horror; such is the state of that country, the success might prove our destruction. Where there is no principle, and parties constantly changing, what can the fallen expect but death or imprisonment? Though the climate of Brazil may be fine, in what situation would any appointment leave you there if, as would certainly be the case, the Government did not duly pay the salary? It would be better to commit suicide at once, in my opinion, than to go to any other Portuguese colony; and as to having any thing to do

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* The title of her book.

with the Church, that would be running into the lion's mouth. If any employment could be obtained under an English nobleman, it would be desirable, even though I should be doomed to seek a retreat in the Welsh mountains, which I should much prefer to Scotland. But I expect nothing from this scheme, and again repeat, that I fear it is here alone we can hope to end our days *without starvation.*

O! I ask myself a thousand times what I can have done to deserve my present forlorn condition? Did it spring from the grave, I could bear it as the lot of mortality. But to be a wife and the mother of two grown sons, and yet feel *alone* in the world, is a situation which I sometimes wonder that I can sustain; yet, poor Dominick, in the midst of his failings, was ever kind to me, and now that a year has elapsed without having heard from him, bears more sadly upon my heart than any thing else.

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You can't remain much longer from, your affectionate wife, M. BLENNERHASSETT.

To General Devereux.

COTTAGE CRESCENT, BATH, *May 8th*, 1825.

MY DEAR DEVEREUX:—After the many trying vicissitudes of fortune two old friends have undergone during nineteen years that have rolled over them since they received that impressing regard for you which no length of time or change of circumstances can ever efface from

their hearts, your feelings will better suggest to you than I can describe the agreeable surprise with which we have just learned you are in London.

Assuredly, the distance of a day's journey which separates us, can not long impede any efforts I can make to effect our meeting, if I shall learn by your answer that you do not expect soon to visit Bath, and that business is likely to detain you in London, more especially *law* business, in which I could devote to your interest the best efforts of my professional labor or advice.

Mrs. B., now here with my sister, is in too delicate a state of health to permit her indulging the pleasure she would not fail to enjoy of accompanying me to town on such an occasion. Of the deep regret which she will entertain, on conceiving the thought of not seeing you here, you will be the best judge, from the ardor of her mind which she lent to the best feelings of her heart in consecrating her sense of your worth and character, in the poetical address to you she published, last year, at Montreal, called forth on the occasion of seeing in the papers your intended mission from Colombia to Russia, and in vindication of your character, which her best sympathies have covered with the ægis of truth and friendship against the gorgon of calumny that would assail it. The volume, containing many other things that will not be uninteresting, I will transmit you by the Bath coach, if you do not let me take it up with me, or rather to hand it to you here. It has been wretchedly printed in Canada. We expect to republish it in London.*

* For the gratification of the curiosity of my readers, I extract a few stanzas from the collection alluded to. The contemplated revisal and

I forbear to touch upon my present condition or future prospects until we meet, and shall only add, that I shall be most impatient to learn whether I shall further hasten to embrace you in town, or shall soon be more gratified to welcome you here, where you will accept of a bed. Without the least abatement of our best sentiments, I doubt not you will consider us most anxious to hear from you, and believe me, my dear Devereux,

Unalterably yours, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

To J. Kingdom, Esq.

COTTAGE CRESCENT, *June 25th*, 1825.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—From the generous interest I know you feel in the success of my proposed plan of undertak-

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London publication of the poems was never effected. The address opens as follows:

"From Chimborazo's lofty brow,
Fame spreads her eagle wings for flight;
A hero's name she echoes now,
To thrill the soul with wild delight.

"On Andes' peaks thy deeds now shine;
In Quito's halls are joy and mirth;
Lov'd Erin's cause, for ever thine,
Is linked with Freedom's 'round the earth.

"Colombia now no more shall hear
The soul's sad echo of distress;
The tyrant's scourge no more shall fear,
While BOLIVAR and THEE they bless.

"Why weeps poor Erin thus in need
Of souls like thine to soothe her tears?
Why not at FREEDOM'S call *we* speed
To worship at the throne she rears?"

ing the instruction of two or three other lads concurrently with that of my son, you have ere now expected something in the nature of a prospectus to be submitted to your consideration. I shall now offer you a sketch of my views, in the hope of your favoring me with your unreserved judgment on the subject.

Having, by my own experience and observation, fully proven the wasteful expense of time, money and constitution, to obtain school and academical instruction, and its defects, when acquired, I have no reason to regret that my present restricted circumstances determine me to dispense, *propriâ personâ*, to my son that discipline of the head and heart, which I should despair of his attaining in a public seminary; and which, for a reasonable compensation, I would administer to a few others of similar age and amiable tempers.

It would be with me a *sine qua non* that the best moral principles had been confirmed, and the temper generous and tractable, in any pupil I would undertake; such preliminary qualifications I can vouch for in Mr. Cresser and my own boy. With such dispositions I would keep up rather a companionable than a magisterial intercourse. Expecting to receive them with good moral instincts, I should spare no pains to arrange and elucidate the analysis, as well as the synthesis of their *ethics*, which I regard as the best and most solid foundation of all the prosperity they may aim to attain, in whatever vocation they may be destined for.

As to literary acquirements, the course and compass of them should be regulated by the profession we have in view; for instance, I should hold it preposterous for a

student of law to pore longer over the intricacies of mathematics than was necessary to enable him to apply them to an elementary course of physics. This I put as an example of the vigilance I would exert in the economy of time in the selection of matter. Meanwhile I should never lose sight of the necessary grounding, so frequently disregarded or neglected at all schools, except, perhaps, the Royal Foundations, in which last, I admit, young men acquire by seven or eight years labor, a good grammar of the dead languages, with little or no love for the beauties of the ancients, in the study of whom they are solely devoted to the almost total neglect of all other acquirements. I can aver that, of the four hundred boys at Westminster school, when I was there, six could not be picked out who could deliver the principles of an operation in the Rule of Three. Such a waste of young life was more compatible with a monastic age than with the present. But the tyranny of fashion further exacts four years more of the flower of youth to be devoted to the college course; for what benefit I know not, save so far as it may be requisite for a more respectable ordination; but with what effects it visits the constitution and morals of its students, I suppose, is as generally felt and admitted, as is the great charge for the name, rather than the substance of any learning that is gained by it. The *literary* men of *Alma Mater* are really self-taught products of a second closet education, and only regard her as their boarding dame. Hence I propose, for my son, to dispense with a public education, feeling as I do, that if God Almighty vouches health to me for three years to come, I shall in that time provide him with a *viaticum* for pur-

suing his journey toward the attainment, with credit, of whatever profession circumstances and his talents may best indicate. In three years, I beg to repeat, for any lad no less advanced than Lewis, I could supersede the necessity of all school and University education, and fit him for such a course of study as in five years more would enable him to enter on the practice of any of the liberal professions as well gifted and qualified as any University scholar whatever.

You perceive my plan, in the whole, embraces a period of eight years, of which the last five are to be appropriated to a mixed course of the sciences, polite literature and professional study, to be arranged and digested on a scale adapted to the views, interests and intended vocation of the individual. For instance, should the bar be his object, he is to spend half of his last year in a special pleader's office, three months of it in an attorney's, and the other three in a conveyancer's office, having, during the last five years, kept all his Terms at the Temple. For a military, naval or commercial calling, I would not undertake to propose further than by the first three years' course, which would embrace enough of French, Greek, Latin, English, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography, Geometry, Astronomy, and no more than I should deem requisite at the present day for any condition. Any other acquirements should be sought out in an after period by the individual.

If boarding should be required, it could be procured at Cottage Crescent, by all comparisons the most healthful and pleasant situation, distant one and three-fourth miles

from Bath, at the lowest terms it could be furnished in a good family. The tone of the society and manners is such as may be expected in a domestic circle whose limits regard as their center a retired barrister, who is an LL. B., has traveled much, and practiced his profession with reputation both in Europe and America. It is not, he flatters himself, his least recommendation, that he avers he had no wish to grow rich by his labors in the decline of his life. His only aim is to give ample value for *quantum meruit*, while, by benefiting others, he can enlarge the rational comforts of his own family. In his estimates, which, however, he is willing to modify at your suggestion, he submits, that he ought to receive £100 *per annum*, independent of boarding. If it should be thought I have spoken less reverently than I thought to have done, I would refer to the bill now before Parliament, constituting a Police System for the Universities.

Yours faithfully, H. BLENNERHASSETT.

To Devereux.

COTTAGE CRESCENT, BATH, *Aug.* 31*st*, 1825.

MY DEAR DEVEREUX:—Perceiving by the papers that commercial intercourse with Colombia is connived at by France, which I have thought it probable may have arisen from the success of your efforts on the part of the Republic with the French ministry; and if I am right in this conjecture, I may rejoice in your having been, at least, the proximate cause of that recognition

which seems so generally expected to be made by the French Government. Should this soon take place, surely the services you have rendered the Republic, and the claims you have on Bolivar, can admit of no intervention between you and the Colombian Government, notwithstanding your being a foreigner, to impede your filling any diplomatic situation in Europe you might choose to accept under the Republic. Might I, in such an issue of your exciting political speculations, suggest that, if your views are not already fixed, I will not say on some more attached, but more competent friend, I would be most happy to be appointed your secretary, in which character, I may venture to say, I hope my industry and acquirements would not disappoint your expectations. To this application you will gratify me with an early answer. But *en attendant*, if you could, without inconvenience, procure me a consular appointment under the Colombian Government, or any agency worth even £200 *per annum*, in any situation in Europe, such an addition to our present small income would make us comfortable any where near you; though, I confess, we should receive it with considerable alloy, if it were to depend on the condition of our residing out of Europe.

I have nearly, but not quite, abandoned the project of resuming my profession in Ireland, which is not now the happy home of our "by-gone years." The scheme is beset with too many difficulties to promise success, with a detail of which I will not attempt to excite your sympathies.

Mrs. B. has sanguine hopes that the suggestions I have presented to your friendship may open better prospects for us. She begs to close this letter; so I will only add,

I hope we shall soon learn where we may look for the happiness of embracing you; being

Ever, my dear Devereux, faithfully yours,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

P. S.—We have just heard of a new work on the Colombian Revolution, with which we are impatient to meet, that we may follow the march of your fame. *Apropos de la marche*, I have composed some military ones, of which I hope your Excellency will hereafter select one, to be enhanced by your accepting its dedication.

MY DEAR SIR:—I can not permit your friend's letter to go without offering you, under my own hand, an expression of the heartfelt pleasure I received by your kind letter from London, the sentiments of which so entirely correspond with those I have ever cherished, that I look forward to the period when we shall receive the pleasure we formerly so much enjoyed in your society; not merely in your promised visit to us here, but in a more durable intercourse, if we shall ever be so fortunate as to realize the hope of sharing with you the evening of our days.

With every solicitude for your health and happiness, I beg you to believe me,

Your faithfully attached friend, M. B.

To the Marquis of Wellesley.

COTTAGE CRESCENT, BATH, *November 8d*, 1825.

MY LORD:—If any subject of these realms may more gratefully than another be supposed to exult in the

glories of the illustrious house of Wellesley, your Excellency will not doubt the sincerity of that devotedness with which an humble relation of that house now ventures to solicit your Excellency's notice and protection.

The grandson of Conway Blennerhassett, who married Elizabeth Harman, daughter of Margaret Wellesley, who married Wentworth Harman,—I trust the degree of consanguinity which I happily derive from this descent may qualify me to aspire to the hope of your Excellency's favor, if, upon investigation of my capacity and character, I shall be found worthy of it.

I am of the Irish bar, since 1790: left it for America, in 1795, where I have resided until I finally returned, last year, from Canada, to lay claim, at the solicitation of some friends, to certain estates of the late Dean Harman, which, it was confidently but erroneously believed, I was entitled to, in virtue of my descent from Wentworth Harman. The failure of this enterprise, consequent upon a long train of adverse circumstances, now reduces me to resort to the forlorn hope of praying your Excellency to locate me in any civil situation in Ireland, the stipend whereof may enable me to support a family in a state above penury.

Confined, since my return to England, by an attendance on an aged sister, in feeble health, which has hitherto prevented my personally paying my respects to your Excellency, I beg to avail myself of this occasion to express my most ardent wishes for the most perfect happiness of that union resulting from your Excellency's late nuptials with a lady whose acquaintance Mrs. Blennerhassett is proud to recollect she made some years since at Baltimore.

With the most profound esteem and admiring sense of

those virtues and talents that distinguish, as they have prepared for history, your Excellency's character and fame, I pray to be considered, my lord,

Your most humble servant,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

Although somewhat foreign to the object of these memoirs, I can not refrain from affording the reader, even at the peril of censure for a departure from the strict line of biographical narrative, and pertinency to my subject, a more extended acquaintance with the personages addressed and referred to in the preceding letter.

The Marquis of Wellesley, with whom Blennerhassett claimed consanguinity, was the eldst son of the Earl of Mornington, and brother of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, was created Marquis of Wellesley, for his services in India as Governor-General, and, at the date of his letter, Viceroy of Ireland. He had, but the February previous, been married to Marianne, daughter of Richard Caton, Esq., of Baltimore, where Mrs. Blennerhassett had made her acquaintance. At the time of her marriage with the Marquis, she was the widow of Robert Patterson, by which previous alliance she became, in some degree, connected with the Bonaparte family.* Their nuptials were

* Jerome Bonaparte, the younger brother of Napoleon I, was born in 1784, and educated in France. He went to St. Domingo with Le Clerc, as a lieutenant, and soon afterward was appointed to the command of a frigate. Napoleon had so high an opinion of his nautical talents, that he made him an admiral; he, however, was soon dissatisfied, and transferred him to the army, where he arose to the command of a division. About the year 1801, Jerome visited the United States, and while here married a Miss Patterson, daughter of the Marquis of Wellesley's wife's former husband. Napoleon compelled him to divorce this lady, with a view of marrying a

celebrated when Lord Wellesley was in his sixty-fifth and the bride in her thirty-first year. Her sister, Louisa Catherine Caton, had been previously married to Sir Felton Bathurst Harvey, in 1817, and became a widow two years after. In 1828, she was again married to the present Duke of Leeds, then Marquis of Carmarthen.

Perhaps no American woman, either before or since, has ever won such marks of distinction in Europe, as was bestowed on these beautiful and highly-gifted ladies. Although of American parentage, and educated in the less ostentatious manners of Republican simplicity, there was, nevertheless, an inborn dignity of deportment, and an unaffected suavity of address, that at once admitted them within the royal circles of Europe, while their beauty and accomplishments rendered them successful rivals of the titled aristocracy of the old world.

Mrs. Patterson and her sister had visited Ireland to see the country. Having been introduced to the most fashionable circles, she soon became the center of attraction. Her religion, which was that of Rome, had it been at first revealed, might have restricted, in some measure, the generous hospitality which was every-where displayed. On her introduction at court, Lord Wellesley became enamored of her charms, of which one hundred and fifty thousand pounds were said to constitute a part. Her fortune, however, it is said, was greatly exaggerated

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princess of the house of Wurtemberg. This marriage took place in 1807, and Jerome removed to the territory of Wurtemberg, where he continued to reside for some time under the title of Count Montfort. He died in 1860.

It seems rather a remarkable coincidence, that while the stepmother married the brother of the Duke of Wellington, the stepdaughter should have married the brother of Napoleon.

by the vulgar report; and the Marquis would have been the very last man to have taken it into the account in a matrimonial alliance. "Though Hymen," says Sheil, "is sometimes addicted to the study of arithmetic, yet Lord Wellesley would never set him at this inglorious task." It was indeed, with him, altogether an affair of the heart. She was that poetic creation—an old man's darling. He offered her his hand, and was elated with its acceptance.

In the great city of Dublin, the announcement of the intended nuptials produced the most profound sensation. The lord-lieutenant was soon to introduce in their midst a vice-queen, of wonderful beauty, and of the Roman Catholic religion; of course, the wildest excitement prevailed among the hitherto oppressed and restricted Catholic subjects. Their creed they now conceived, says Sheil, "would receive a sanction from a pair of beautiful eyes at the Castle." She would drive in state to the chapel, and O'Connell and Sheil hoped "that her love of legitimate rhetoric might induce her to go in disguise to the gallery of the Catholic House of Commons." The Orange faction were alarmed; the scepter was to depart from Judah; and the Protestant viceroy was to be placed in Catholic leading strings, by the intrigues of an American beauty. It was idle, they said, to expect, on the part of Lord Wellesley, any very rigid adherence to the principles of the Protestant religion: "How powerful must be the influence of a young and beautiful wife upon a man of careless and vacillating opinions."

The marriage may be said to have been a double one;

at least, the ceremonies were twice performed; the first by Dr. Magee, a clergyman of the Church of England; the second, by one of the Catholic communion. Thus politics and religion were reconciled, the rancor of religious intolerance appeased, and both parties satisfied that the hymenial knot had been tied with a double bow.

The Marchioness soon became popular in Ireland. She was called upon to witness much distress, caused, partly, by the improvidence of its inhabitants, but more immediately by the prostration of its manufacturing interests. It was true that her private charities were frequently dispensed to individual objects; but where poverty and suffering were so universal, however large the contributions of her own and her husband's private benevolence, they could afford but limited relief to the starving poor. As an expedient of temporary relief, it was suggested that a "Tabinet Ball" should take place, under the auspices of the fair and newly-ennobled lady. I am enabled to condense a description of the scene from an eye-witness.*

The notice was given in order to afford the young ladies in the country an opportunity of coming to town, and the 11th of May, 1826, was fixed for the metropolitan *fête*. Peremptory orders were issued at the Castle, that no person should appear in any other than Irish manufacture. A great sensation was produced by what, in such a provincial town as Dublin, may be considered as an event. Crowds of families flocked from all parts of the country; and if any prudential grazier remonstrated against the expense of a journey to the metropolis, the

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Mr. Sheil.

eyes of the young ladies having duly filled with tears, and mamma having protested that Mr. O'Flaherty might as well send the girls to a convent, and doom them to old maidenhood for life, the old carriage was ordered to the hall-door, and came creaking into town, laden with the rural belles, who were to make a conquest at the Tabinet Ball. The arrival of the important day was looked for with impatience, and many a young heart was kept beating under its virgin zone at the pleasurable anticipation. In the interval much good was accomplished, and Terpsichore set the loom at work. Every milliner's shop gave notes of profuse and prodigal preparation.

At last, the 11th of May arrived, and at about 10 o'clock the city shook with the roll of carriages hurrying from all quarters to the rotunda. Here was an immense assemblage of young and beautiful women, dressed in an attire which, instead of impairing, tended to set off the loveliness of their aspect, and the symmetry of their fine forms; the sweetness and innocency of expression which characterizes an Irish lady, sat upon their faces; modesty, kindness, and vivacity played in their features; and grace and joyousness swayed the movement of limbs which Chantry would not disdain to select for a model. While these gay festivities were proceeding, it was suddenly announced that Lord Wellesley and the Marchioness were about to enter the room. There was a sudden pause in the dancing, and the light airs to which the crowd had been moving were soon changed to the Royal Anthem. All were eager in their efforts to observe the beautiful American. A Yankee and a Papist turned into

a vice-queen!—a novelty never before witnessed in the long history of Ireland. There was something strange in this caprice of fortune; the crowd were anxious to behold the person with whom the blind goddess had played so fantastic a freak. Followed by a gorgeous retinue of richly-decorated attendants, the viceroy and his consort advanced toward the immense assembly, who received them with acclamation. She was leaning upon his arm. He seemed justly proud of so fair a burden. The consciousness of so noble a possession had the effect upon him which the inspirations of Genius were said to have produced upon a celebrated actor, and he looked "six feet high," compact, and well knit together, with great alertness in his movements, and with no further stoop than sixty winters have left upon him, with a searching and finely-irradiated eye, and with cheeks which, however furrowed, carry but few traces of the tropics. The victor of Tipoo Saib, and the conqueror of Captain Rock, entered the rotunda.

He seemed to personate his sovereign with too elaborate a fidelity to the part, and to forget that he was not in permanent possession of the character upon a stage which was under the direction of such capricious managers, and that he must speedily relinquish it to some other actor upon the provincial boards. He was, unquestionably, a man of very great abilities; a speaker of the first order of talent; a statesman with wide and philosophic views, who never bounded his prospects by an artificial horizon. He attained great fame as a politician, and had the merit of co-operating with O'Connell in the pacification of Ireland.

A throne, surmounted with a gorgeous canopy of gold and scarlet, was placed at the extremity of the room for his reception; and to this seat of mock regality he advanced with his vice-queen with a measured and stately step. When he had reached this place of dignity, his suite formed themselves into a hollow square and excluded from any too familiar approach the crowd of spectators that thronged around. A sort of boundary was formed by the lines of aid-de-camps, train-bearers, and pursuivants of all kinds.

The Marquis was dressed in a rich uniform, with a profusion of orders. He wore white pantaloons, with short boots lined with gold and with tassels of the same material. The Marchioness was dressed in white tabinet, crossed with a garland of flowers. Her appearance was striking, not only as a very fine, but dignified woman. Nobody would have suspected that she had not originally belonged to that proud aristocracy to which she had been recently annexed. She had nothing of *la bourgeoise parvenue*. She executed her courtesies with a remarkable gracefulness, and her stateliness sat as naturally upon her as though she inherited it by regal descent. Her figure was peculiarly well proportioned. Her arms and shoulders, though less suited to Hebe than to Pomona, were finely moulded, and her waist delicately small and tapering. Her profile was marked and classical. Her complexion had not that purity and milkiness of color which belong to Irish beauty, but it was perhaps not the less agreeable from having been touched by a warmer sun. Her brows were softly and straightly penciled; her

cheeks well chiseled, and an expression of permanent mildness sat upon her lips. "If I were called upon," says Sheil, "to point out, among the portraitures of fictitious life, an illustration of the Marchioness of Wellesley, I do not think that with reference to her air, her manners, the polish and urbanity of her address, and the placidity of her expression, I could select any more appropriate than the English heroine of Don Juan—

"THE LADY ADELINE AMUNDEVILLE."

The Marquis and the copartner of his honors, and sole tenant of his heart, having made their obeisance to the company, seated themselves upon the throne. From this position they could command a view of the entire assembly. After the ceremonies of the reception had ended, the festivities of the occasion were resumed, and only closed when the morning sun eclipsed the glare of artificial light, and admonished the exhausted dancers that the night was spent.

This remarkable lady seems not to have been exempt from the fickleness of fortune, and to have experienced sad reverses in her latter days. Queen Victoria granted her a residence in Hampton Court Palace, a "refuge for the destitute" among the aristocracy, in which many pauperized people of rank are rent free. Here she received a pension, either from the British Government or the East India Company, both of whom Marquis Wellesley had served faithfully and with distinction during a long period of years.

From the Poet Campbell.

10 Upper Seymour Street, West,
July 17th, 1825.

Sir:—I am exceedingly sorry that it is wholly out of my power to be of the smallest use to you in the publication of your musical composition. The New Monthly never inserts pieces of music, and I have no personal acquaintance either with Mr. Braham or Mr. Sapio. The words are not mine, to the best of my recollection; but I should not be ashamed of them. I am therefore obliged to return your MSS., and with best wishes I remain,

Your most obedient servant, Thos. Campbell.

In 1825, Blennerhassett returned to Canada, only to complete his arrangements for a permanent removal. His business having been closed, accompanied by his wife and youngest son, he sailed from Quebec, never to return. His maiden sister, Avis, having offered him a home, his family became a part of her household at Cottage Crescent, Bath, in the county of Somersetshire, England. The generosity of Avis, whose income was by no means ample, afforded them a subsistence during the remainder of his life. In the mean time, as is disclosed by his correspondence, he strove arduously, but fruitlessly, to gain employment.

Disheartened by disappointment, and suffering from unusual exposure, Mrs. Blennerhassett's health was found to be rapidly declining. The climate had proven too rigorous for a constitution already impaired, and the dis-

ease,* to which she had long been subject, became greatly aggravated. A removal to another locality, where the changes were less extreme, was advised by her physician as the only certain measure of relief. The Island of Jersey, in the British channel, was accordingly determined on; thither they removed, accompanied by the sister Avis.

A change of Administration had been but recently effected in the Government, and Lord Anglesey was placed at the head of the Ordnance Department. Blennerhassett determined once more to appeal to the generosity of his friend, and addressed him the following letter:

St. Aubin, Jersey, *May* 31*st*, 1827.

My Lord:—With what feelings I participated in the general satisfaction expressed by the better part of the public on the triumphant establishment of the present Administration since your Lordship's acceptance of office in it, the correspondence I have been honored with by you, from 1819 to 1823, will more fully attest than I could by any assurances.

I hope that, in inditing this letter, I shall not have obtruded upon the indulgence which has always heard and answered me. Encouraged by such reflections, I now beg leave to state, that my chief motive for this address is an anxious desire to offer to your Lordship's consideration certain suggestions relating to our cannon and musketry in proposals for improvements in fabricating cannon, by which a 24-pounder, for instance, may be

* Inflammation of the heart.

made of higher proof, and of half the weight, and at nearly one-half the cost of the present pieces of the same caliber. If this can be realized, of which I have no doubt whatever, though the plan was rejected by a committee appointed to examine it in the Duke of Wellington's Administration, who were assuredly mistaken, both as to the facts and principles on which the plan is founded, what an accession of effect and saving will be gained in naval as well as military projectiles, your judgment will not fail to discover. The expense, however, of an experiment to settle the question would hardly cost Government £100.

The second proposal has for its object the means of giving to the musket now in use all the precision and effect of the rifle, without any alteration of the piece whatsoever, and also without lessening or at all interfering with the present rate of time taken up in loading. The object is effected by a new mode of making the balls, and which is also more speedy and economical than the present. The success of this improvement on the effect of the musket is unquestionable, and has received the approbation of several military men, to whom it has been proposed.

During my retirement from Canada, residing here with my family on a small income, I have abandoned all views of resuming law-practice, unless in an official situation befitting a barrister of 1790. Any civil appointment, however, in your Lordship's department, at a European station, that could be conveniently offered me; or one in Europe or America for a deserving son, or a present or future vacancy, would be most gratefully accepted.

I pray to be informed, whether I may or may not address you officially, tendering the foregoing proposals, for lessening the cost and increasing the effect of ordnance and musketry for the advancement of her Majesty's service. I have the honor to be, etc.,

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

REPLY.

OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, *June 9th*, 1827.

SIR:—I am directed by the Marquis of Anglesey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ult., and to acquaint you that his Lordship will be happy to receive the suggestions which you may have to offer, and will submit them to the consideration of the committee, whose province it is to examine and report upon the various projects brought before this department. With respect to your request, an appointment, Lord Anglesey regrets extremely, that the long list of pressing claims, received from his predecessor, and the very limited means of attending to them, will not allow his Lordship to hold out any expectation that it will be in his power to offer to your acceptance any appointment.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. GOSSETT.

H. BLENNERHASSETT, ESQ.

To Harman Blennerhassett, Junior.

GUERNSEY, *December 4th*, 1828.

MY DEAR SON:—On the 30th ult., my dear Harman, we received your letter of the 8th November. We grieve to

learn by it that you labor under pecuniary embarrassments we can not at present relieve. * * *

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Since we had your September letter, I have heartily rejoiced at the station you had acquired in civil life by the attainment of a profession in the practice of which I hope and believe you will reach a standing to insure you a competency, if not a fortune. And with a view to your success I will now present a few observations to your consideration.

The field of advice to a young lawyer is so large that it is not easy to choose on which side to enter it. I shall therefore only touch, as it were, upon the confines of the region of study, by advising you to refuse your mind to matters of detail in it, but seize and treasure up in memory the principles and points which you can draw from it for the occasion of pleading and forensic argumentation, in which your adversary may not, perhaps, be able to say as you can, "*Condo et comparo quod mox depromere passim.*"

Blackstone, omitting his feudal system and such other parts of the work as, on first reading, you can mark off as inapplicable to American polity and jurisprudence, should be your text-book. It will furnish the principles which will best prepare you to study those constitutions and laws of which you are now called upon, in some degree, to direct the administration in your *practice*. In this work you ought to contemplate your vocation from a high post of responsibility, which the full discharge of duty will reward with the full meed of honor and profit. This sentiment will be well supported by your habitual

principles of candor and integrity, which will secure to you the favor and countenance of the Court, which you must ever conciliate by decent humility, without servility; but it will expose you to insidious attacks of chicanery, in practice by your opponents, ever on the watch to overreach your contingent neglect of rules, orders or notices, which your vigilance must aid your industry to counteract in season.

In your public speaking you must be no competitor for the palm of eloquence. Leaving others to aspire to that object, it must be *your* aim to stand before the Court on the *facts*, on which you can show the law and reason of your case upon solemn argument. When addressing a jury, or examining a witness, you must rather engage the feelings of the former by seeming to participate in whatever bias you have reason to suspect they entertain, whether derived from rumor or personal prejudice, as you must endeavor to win the confidence of the latter by the urbanity of your manner of interrogation, through which you can best throw him off his guard against your real purpose, until you have fixed him on one horn of a dilemma, from which he has no escape but in the conclusions you have in view. This is, indeed, one of the evolutions of practice, requiring the greatest dexterity and address, but yet to be executed with more or less success through exercise, directed by observation and judgment, which time and industry will supply, but it is never to be obtained when marred by fits of irritability of temper, against which, through regard for character and true interest, you should ever be on your guard, through all trials of life, especially those of your practice.

These observations, drawn from the sources of my own experience, I shall close here at present.* I have for-

* The advice here given by Blennerhassett to his son, on entering the practice of law, is perhaps more spiritedly given by an Irish gentleman, as related by Mr. Sheil: "A young barrister," says he, "who looks to eminence from his own sheer, unaided merits, must have a mind and frame prepared by nature for the endurance of unremitting toil. He must cram his memory with the arbitrary principles of a complex and incongruous code, and be equally prepared, as occasion serves, to apply or misapply them. He must not only surpass his competitors in the art of reasoning right from right principles—the logic of common life—but he must be equally an adept in reasoning right from wrong principles, and wrong from right ones. He must learn to glory in a perplexing sophistry, as in the discovery of an immortal truth. He must make up his mind and his face to demonstrate, in open court, with all imaginable gravity, that nonsense is replete with meaning, and that the clearest meaning is manifestly nonsense by construction. This is merit, by 'legal habit of thinking;' and to acquire them, he must not only prepare his faculties by a course of assiduous and direct cultivation, but he must absolutely forswear all other studies and speculations that may interfere with their perfection. There must be no dallying with literature; no hankering after comprehensive theories for the good of men; away must be wiped all such 'trivial fond records.' He must keep to his digests and indexes. He must see nothing in mankind but a great collection of plaintiffs and defendants, and consider no revolution in their affairs as comparable, in interest, to the last term reports of points of practice decided in *banco regis*. As he walks the streets, he must give way to no sentimental musings. There must be no 'commercing with the skies, no idle dreams of love, and rainbows, and poetic forms,' and all the bright illusions upon which the 'fancy free' can feast. If a thought of love intrudes, it must be connected with the law of marriage settlements, and articles of separation from bed and board. So of the other passions, and of every the most interesting incident and situation in human life—he must view them all with reference to their legal effect and operation. If a funeral passes by, instead of permitting his imagination to follow the mourners to the grave, he must consider how far the executor may not have made himself liable for a waste of assets by some supernumerary plumes and hat-bands, beyond 'the state and circumstances of the deceased;' or, if his eye should light upon a requisition for a public meeting to petition against a grievance, he must regard the grievance as immaterial, but bethink himself whether the wording of the requisition be strictly warrantable under the provisions of the Convention Act.

borne until now to speak of my own health. It is, for my time of life, good, save a paralytic affection of the left arm and side, which has not left me since the 28th of last May, when it seized me. How it may terminate I know not, but whenever I shall be called away from this sublunary, to another, and I doubt not a better state, I shall not apprehend that my soul will be any thing less jocular there than here. That thought in the Emperor Adrian's soliloquy, or rather address, to his departing soul, is not so happily conceived as the sportive playfulness with which he expresses in beautiful diminutives his philosophical composure, *in articulo mortis*—a moment of trial

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"Such is a part, and a very small part, of the probationary discipline to which the young candidate for forensic eminence must be prepared to submit; and if he can hold out for ten or fifteen years, his superior claims may begin to be known and rewarded. But success will bring no diminution of toil and self-denial. The bodily and mental labor alone of a successful barrister's life would be sufficient, if known beforehand, to appal the stoutest. Besides this, it has many peculiar rubs and annoyances. His life is passed in a tumult of perpetual contention, and he must make up his sensibility to give and receive the hardest knocks. He has no choice of cases; he must throw himself, heart and soul, into the most unpromising that is confided to him. He must fight pitched battles with obstreperous witnesses. He must have lungs to out clamor the most clamorous. He must make speeches without. He must keep battering for hours at a jury that he sees to be impregnable. He is before the public, and at the mercy of public opinion; and if every nerve be not strained to the utmost to achieve what is impossible, the public, with its usual good nature, will attribute the failure to want of zeal or capacity in the advocate, to any thing, rather than the badness of the cause. Finally, he must appear to be sanguine, even after a defeat; and be prepared to tell a knavish client that has been beaten out of the courts of common law, that his 'is a clear case for relief in equity.' The man who can do all this deserves to succeed, and will succeed; but I will not discourage my young American aspirants, that, in the United States, they may not 'rationally expect to arrive at eminence in their profession upon less rigorous conditions.'"

so fearfully met by vulgar hearts. I am so far sunk in practice, through dissuetude in my Latin, that I can not set about a letter in that language. The lines are these:

"Anima vagula blandula
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quo nunc abidis in loco?
Palidula, frigida, stridalis,
Nec dabis ut soles joca!" *

The epithet "vagula blandula" beautifully characterizes the departing spirit's mild nature, and its being on the wing to seek its resting in unknown regions; but those in the last line but one are, to my taste, unhappily chosen, as they exhibit the soul like a vulgar ghost or specter, bearing about it enough of a camel covering sufficient to exhibit our Divine spark!—a pale, shrieking, chilled being, not, indeed, capable of jesting. * * *

Your fond father, HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

The attack of paralysis of which he writes was the premonition of his closing career, "The silver cord was loosed, and the golden bowl broken." He lingered for sometime after; but death, as he intimates, would at any time have been a pleasant messenger. The light of his intellect was fading, and his grasp on earthly hopes rapidly relaxing. After a residence of three years at St.

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* "O sweet, roving spirit,
Guest and companion of my body,
Where now will you go?
Pale, cold and shrieking creature,
No more, as once, will you be capable of jesting."

Aubin, it was deemed advisable to remove to the Island of Guernsey, where the landed property of Avis was situate. Here, at Port Pierre, a second, and then a third attack followed; and, on the 1st of February, 1831, wearied with life, he sank to rest, in the sixty-third year of his age, with his head pillowed on that bosom which, for thirty-five years, had throbbed in perfect unison with his own.

Thus has it been attempted to portray the life and character of Blennerhassett. From youth to age, and finally to the grave, we have followed his footsteps, with an interest excited more through our sympathy than our admiration of the man. In his life, there is really nothing remarkable. His scientific acquirements never gave to mankind one single truth, nor devised a plan for the benefit of the human race. His is not that fame which bedecks with laurels the brow of the hero, or follows those acts which the world regards as sublimely great. Of these, indeed, he was never emulous. His native country afforded him the finest fields for military notoriety; and as for political preferment, the times in which he lived were propitious to the aspirant. The names of his compeers will descend to posterity in living colors as long as down-trodden Ireland shall retain a place on the page of history. That celebrity which attended his name was not of his seeking. His was the peculiar temperament, fitted better for the enjoyments of private life than the battle-field or the political arena. For this, he resigned magnificence and ease for obscurity in a western wilderness, where he enjoyed, for a time, that uninter-

rupted repose which had so long attracted his fancy. There, too, he would have doubtless remained but for the circumstances heretofore narrated.

At the death of her husband, Mrs. Blennerhassett was left with a family of dependent children, for whom her greatest exertions could hardly procure subsistence. Long and arduously she toiled, both mentally and physically, to avoid impending poverty. It was not only necessary that they should be fed and clothed, but it was also important that they should receive such an education as would, at least, fit them for the business transactions of life. She had now arrived at an age when elasticity, both of body and mind, was nearly destroyed; and this of itself was sufficient to prevent any expectation of future success. Under such gloomy prospects, she resolved to visit the United States and petition the Government for relief.

In this, she is not to be regarded as a mendicant asking for *alms*, but rather as asserting her *rights*;—rights most wantonly violated by the officers of a government pledged to the protection of its citizens. The agents of the President had not only detained the boats and stores prepared for the enterprise of Burr, but had actually destroyed the former and consumed the latter. They had invaded the sanctity of her household; had appropriated to themselves and wasted her provisions; broken her furniture; laid waste the gardens; torn down the fences; and had done serious injury to the mansion. They had put Blennerhassett to an enormous expense in defending himself at Richmond; they, in fact, had reduced him from affluence

to comparative poverty. Was this extraordinary sacrifice to be justified, and its victims to remain unsatisfied from the mere fact that Blennerhassett was *accused* of hostility toward the Government? Could such an invasion of private rights have been legalized, if he had been found guilty of the acts with which he was charged?

In the year 1842, Mrs. Blennerhassett, with an invalid son, visited New York, and, through the hands of her friends, preferred a petition to Congress. With a meekness of disposition which is remarkable, when we recollect her grievances, she says:

"Your memorialist does not desire to exaggerate the conduct of the said armed men, or the injuries done by them; but she can truly say, that, before their visit, the residence of her family had been noted for its elegance and high state of improvement; and that they left it in a comparative state of ruin and waste. And, as instances of the mischievous and destructive spirit which appeared to govern them, she would mention, that, while they occupied as a guard-room one of the best apartments in the house, the building of which cost nearly forty thousand dollars, a musket or rifle ball was deliberately fired into the ceiling, by which it was much defaced and injured; and that they wantonly destroyed many pieces of valuable furniture. She would also state that, being apparently under no restraint, they indulged in continual drunkenness and riot, offering many indignities to your memorialist and treating her domestics with violence.

"These outrages were committed upon an unoffending and defenseless family, in the absence of their natural

protector, your memorialist's husband being then away from home; and that, in answer to such remonstrances as she ventured to make against the consumption, waste and destruction of his property, she was told, by those who assumed to have the command, that they held the property for the United States, by order of the President, and were privileged to use it, and should use it as they pleased. It is with pain that your memorialist reverts to events, which, in their consequences, have reduced a once happy family, from affluence and comfort, to comparative want and wretchedness; which blighted the prospects of her children, and made herself, in the decline of life, a wanderer on the face of the earth."

Robert Emmett, the son of Thomas Addis, and nephew of the celebrated Irish patriot, interested himself in her behalf. He had been the intimate friend of Blennerhassett, and sympathized deeply with his afflicted family. In forwarding her memorial to the Hon. Henry Clay of the United States Senate, he remarks: "Mrs. Blennerhassett is now in this (New York) city, residing in very humble circumstances, bestowing her cares on a son, who, by long poverty and sickness, is reduced to utter imbecility, both of body and mind; unable to assist her, or provide for his own wants. In her present destitute situation, the smallest amount of relief would be thankfully received by her. Her condition is one of *absolute want*, and she has but a short time left to enjoy any better fortune in this world."*

* Mrs. B. was in the receipt of a small rent received from a house in England, left to the family by the sister of Blennerhassett.

Her statement, with regard to the destruction of her property, and the acts of the officers of the Government, were fully corroborated by William Robinson, jun., and Morgan Neville, both of whom were present at the island when the occurrences took place. An estimate of the property destroyed was made out by Dudley Woodbridge, the former partner of Blennerhassett in mercantile transactions, which also accompanied her petition.

It would be presumed that, under such a state of circumstances, the American Congress would not long hesitate in granting her full indemnity for past injuries. Mr. Clay presented the petition, and eloquently advocated its justice. He had known Blennerhassett in the noontide of his prosperity, when not a cloud darkened the horizon of his effulgent future; he had visited his rural palace, and regaled himself with the luxuries it afforded. He had partaken of its hospitalities, and been entertained by the sprightly conversation of its inmates. He had witnessed Blennerhassett's arrest, in Kentucky, and manfully exerted himself in his defense. He had afterward witnessed his declining fortunes; and, when destruction had laid waste his possessions, had wandered over the ruins with feelings of unsuppressed sympathy.

The memorial having been referred to the appropriate committee, of which the Hon. William Woodbridge was chairman, he returned a report, alike honorable to his intelligence and clear sense of justice. He advocated the claim as legal and proper, and one which ought to be allowed, notwithstanding it had been thirty-six years since the events transpired. "Not to do so would be unworthy a wise or just nation."

The claim would doubtless have met with the favor of Congress, had not an event transpired, in the meanwhile, which rendered further action unnecessary. Death had visited the suffering applicant, and relieved her of earthly wants. In a humble abode, in the city of New York, her spirit had silently departed! No soothing hand of a relative fanned her fevered temples, nor wiped from her brow the chilly dews of expiring nature. Within that lonely chamber, it was reserved to strangers to witness the last sad scenes. She, who had been born in affluence; to whom the world appeared, in early life, as Paradise before the fall; who had been honored by the attentions of the great and the praises of the humble; whose heart was ever open to the cries of distress, and whose hands were ever ready to relieve the wants of the needy, had, in her turn, to ask the charities of the world! Although the kindly ministrations of a society of Irish females served, in some measure, to assuage the agonies of her parting hours, still it was hard to die thus destitute and deserted; for

> "On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
> Some pious drops the closing eye requires."

And now, as the sable hearse moved slowly along, followed only by those devoted "sisters of charity," it excited no interest in the passing crowd. No mock pageant indicated the life or station of the deceased. In one of the cemeteries of that city remains all that is earthly of that once accomplished lady, separated from the tomb of her husband by the wide Atlantic. While on their

graves we "drop the tribute of a tear," may we never forget the lesson taught us by their lives.*

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* It is proper to add that the son Harman died in the city of New York, in 1854, after a protracted illness, in which he was attended by the good offices of the ladies of the "Old Brewery" mission. Joseph Lewis Blennerhassett, the last survivor, is engaged, at the present time, in the practice of law at Troy, Lincoln county, Missouri, from whom the manuscripts for this memoir were obtained.

APPENDIX:

I.

SECRET CORRESPONDENCE.

GENERAL WILKINSON and Burr began their correspondence in cipher about the years 1800 and 1801, near the period at which the latter ascended the chair of the Vice-Presidency. For this purpose they adopted three different ciphers.

The first is called the hieroglyphic:

○ President.
⊙ Vice-President.
÷ Secretary of State.

It was invented by General Wilkinson and Captain Campbell Smith as long ago as the year 1794, '95, or '96, for the purpose of communicating confidentially with the general officers in the Western country.

Another cipher, of a somewhat similar construction, was devised by Captain Smith in 1791, in which the hieroglyphics representing the President and Vice-President are the same with those used in the cipher of Col. Burr.

The second is denominated the *arbitrary alphabet cipher;* and was formed by Burr and Wilkinson in the year 1799 or 1800.

This cipher was nothing more than a substitution of characters in the place of letters which actually compose the alphabet. It was also used in figures, from one to ten.

The third is styled the *dictionary cipher;* and was adopted by them in the year 1800. The famous letters from Burr to Wilkinson, of the 22d July, 1806, delivered by Swartwout at Natchez, and its duplicate of the 29th of the same month, conveyed to Bollman, were written partly in each of these two ciphers, and partly in English. The Wilmington edition of Entick's Pocket Dictionary of 1800 served as the key, by which such part of the letters as were written in figures were to be interpreted. For example, if the figures 3 and 4 were used, the figure 3 pointed out the *page* in the book, and 4 the *number* of the *word* intended — counting from the top in the first or second column on the page, which latter circumstance was indicated by a slight mark above or below the 4.

General Dayton's letters of the 16th and 24th July, which were forwarded in company with Burr's by Swartwout and Bollman, were written partly in hieroglyphics and the arbitrary alphabetical ciphers, above described, partly in English, but principally in Dayton's own cipher, of which the key-word is FRANCE.

It is composed in the following manner, the letters of the alphabet being numbered thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
a b c d e f g h i j

In order to decipher a letter or passage written in cipher, take the first letter of the key-word F, fix on the letter in the series of the alphabet; count forward from that letter as many letters as are equal to the first figure in the ciphered letter; as 8, for example, which will give I, and I will be the first letter of the first word; then take the second letter of the

key-word R, and, in the same manner as in the first instance, count forward as many letters as are equal to the second figure; as 2, which will give the second letter T, completing the first word, *It.* Continue the same way with the ensuing letters of the key-word, until they are finished; and then begin again—thus going through the key-word again and again until the letter is completed.

In the ciphered letter the figure, or aggregate of figures representing words, are separated by commas.

There was another cipher in use among some of the accomplices in this enterprise, the key-word of which was CUBA. The use of this cipher may be understood from the following scheme and explanations:

1	C	U	B	A
2	d	v	c	b
3	e	w	d	c
4	f	x	e	d
5	g	y	f	e
6	h	z	g	f
7	i	a	h	g
8	j	b	i	h
9	k	c	j	i
10	l	d	k	j
11	m	e	l	k
12	n	f	m	l
13	o	g	n	m
14	p	h	o	n
15	q	i	p	o
16	r	j	q	p
17	s	k	r	q
18	t	l	s	r
19	u	m	t	s
20	v	n	u	t
21	w	o	v	u
22	x	p	w	v
23	y	q	x	w
24	z	r	y	x
25	a	s	z	y
26	b	t	a	z

In order to compose a letter in this species of cipher, find in the column under the first letter in the key-word the first letter of the word which you wish to write, and the figure opposite to this letter represents the first letter of that word. To find the figure expressive of the second letter, look for that letter in the second column, and the figure opposite to that letter represents the second letter in the word. Continue in the same way with respect to the other two columns, if it be a word of three or four letters. But if it contains more than four letters, you must return to the first column, and proceed in the same manner; that is, the fifth letter of the word is to be found in the first column under C; the sixth letter in the second column, and so on. Thus, if *Hope* was the first word in the epistle, look for the letter H in the first column under C, which is opposite the figure 6 as the representative of the first letter; the letter O is to be sought for in the second column, and is represented by the number 21; and so on with the letters P and E.

In the ciphered letters, the figures representing letters are separated by periods.

The reader will immediately perceive that besides *France* and *Cuba*, any other words might be used as key-words of these ciphers, according to the discretion of the writer and his correspondent. The difficulty of discovering the key to one of these ciphered letters would be still further augmented by the writer's shifting his key-word for different epistles, according to some rule previously agreed on. The difficulty would be incalculably increased, if the writer not only continues to shift his key-word, but the cipher itself.

Richmond Enquirer of 1807.

II.

THE BATTLE OF MUSKINGUM, OR DEFEAT OF THE BURRITES.

NOVEMBER, 1806, BY GENERAL E. W. TUPPER.

IT has been the province of the bards in all ages to record the glorious achievements of their warriors. The heroes of the Nile, Marengo and Austerlitz, have had their honors recounted; and shall not those of Muskingum live, while thousands are forgotten? Yes, ye virtuous few! Ye also shall live! and millions yet unborn, while passing, shall point to the shores of Muskingum and the plains of Marietta, and say, "There fought the brave, and there the immortal fell!" The following imitation of the "Battle of the Kegs" is offered to the public, not without its many imperfections. The writer has, in several instances, chosen to sacrifice the harmony of his rhymes to the more essential article—*truth*.

Ye jovial throng, come join the song
I sing of glorious feats, sirs;
Of bloodless wounds, of laurels, crowns,
Of charges, and retreats, sirs;

Of thundering guns, and honors won,
By men of daring courage;
Of such as dine on beef and wine,
And such as sup their porridge.

When Blanny's fleet, so snug and neat,
Came floating down the tide, sirs,
Ahead was seen, one-eyed Clark Green,*
To work them, or to guide, sirs.

Our General brave,† the order gave,
"To arms! to arms! in season!
Old Blanny's boats, most careless float,
Brim-full of death and treason!"

A few young boys, their mother's joys,
And five men there were found, sirs,
Floating at ease—each little sees
Or dreams of death and wound, sirs.

"Fly to the bank! on either flank!
We'll fire from every corner;
We'll stain with blood Muskingum's flood,
And gain immortal honor.

The cannon there shall rend the air,
Loaded with broken spikes, boys,
While our cold lead, hurled by each head,
Shall give the knaves the gripes, boys.

Let not maids sigh, or children cry,
Or mothers drop a tear, boys;
I have the Baron‡ in my head;
Therefore you've nought to fear, boys

Now to your posts, this numerous host;
Be manly, firm and steady.
But do not fire, till I retire,
And say when I am ready."

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* A bold man, well known in those days.

† Major-General Buell.

‡ The only system of military tactics then in use in the Western country, among the officers, was that of Baron Steuben.

The Deputy,* courageously,
Rode forth in power and pride, sirs;
Twitching his reins, the man of brains†
Was posted by his side, sirs.

The men in ranks stand on the banks,
While, distant from its border,
The active aid scours the parade,
And gives the general order.

"First, at command, bid them to stand;
Then, if one rascal gains out,
Or lifts his poll;—G—d d—n his soul,
And blow the traitors brains out."

The night was dark; silent came Clark
With twelve or fifteen more, sirs;
While Paddy Hill, with voice most shrill,
Hooped! as was said before, sirs.

The trembling ranks, along the banks,
Fly into Shipman's manger;
While old Clark Green, with voice serene,
Cried, "Soldiers, there's no danger."

"Our guns, good souls, are setting poles;
Dead hogs, I'm sure, can't bite you;‡
Along each keel is Indian meal;
There's nothing here need fright you."

Out of the barn, still in alarm,
Came fifty men, or more, sirs,
And seized each boat and other float,
And tied them to the shore, sirs.

---

* Governor Meigs.

† Name withheld.

‡ The boats had in them hogs recently slaughtered.

This plunder rare, they sport and share,
And each a portion grapples.
'T was half a kneel* of Indian meal,
And ten of Putnam's apples.†

The boats they drop to Allen's shop,
Commanded by O'Flannon,
Where, lashed ashore, without an oar,
They lay beneath the cannon.

This band so bold, the night being cold,
And blacksmith's shop being handy;
Around the forge they drink and gorge
On whisky and peach-brandy.

Two honest tars, who had some scars,
Beheld their trepidation;
Cries Tom, "Come, Jack, let 's fire a crack;
'T will fright them like damnation.

Tyler, they say, lies at Belpré,
Snug in old Blanny's quarters;
Yet this pale host tremble like ghosts,
For fear he 'll walk on waters."

No more was said, but off they sped,
To fix what they 'd begun on;
At one o'clock, firm as a rock,
They fired the spun-yarn cannon.

Trembling and wan stood every man;
Then bounced and shouted murder;
While Sergeant Morse squealed like a horse,
To get the folks to order.

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* A measure of two quarts.

† There were a few apples in the boats belonging to A. W. Putnam, of Belpré.

Ten men went out, and looked about;
A hearty set of fellows;
Some hid in holes, behind the coals,
And some behind the bellows.

The Cor'ner* swore, the western shore,
He saw with muskets bristle;
Some stamp'd the ground;—'t was cannon sound.
They heard the grape-shot whistle.

The Deputy mounted "Old Bay,"
When first he heard the rattle,
Then changed his course, "great men are scarce;"
I 'd better keep from battle."

The General† flew, to meet the crew,
His jacket flying loose, sirs;
Instead of sword, he seized his board;
Instead of hat, his goose, sirs.

'Tyler's," he cried, "on 't other side;
Your spikes will never do it;
The cannon's bore will hold some more;
Then thrust his goose into it."

Sol raised his head; cold spectres fled;
Each man resumed his courage;
Captain O'Flan dismissed each man
To breakfast on cold porridge.

---

* Joel Bowen. † Buell was a tailor by trade.